

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending September 30, 1994

**Proclamation 6724—Gold Star
Mother's Day, 1994**

September 23, 1994

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Americans owe a lasting debt of gratitude to those who pledged their lives to secure for us the blessings of liberty. We, therefore, set aside certain days during the year to honor their distinguished service—Veterans Day, for all who have served in our Armed Forces, and Memorial Day, for those who lost their lives in that service. But perhaps the greatest sacrifice of all in protecting our way of life was made by another group—women whose sons and daughters lost their lives in service to our country. These are the Gold Star Mothers of America, and they have earned a special place in our hearts.

These women once experienced the anxiety of watching their sons or daughters go off to war, not knowing whether they would return. These mothers felt the anguish of waiting for word of their loved ones. It is a drama that has been played out throughout our Nation's history. Sadly, in each generation, there are mothers who have been called on to accept the terrible truth that their son or daughter will not return. There can be no doubt that these brave women—our courageous Gold Star Mothers—are due our utmost respect.

This year, the 50th anniversary of the D-Day invasion at Normandy, we remember especially those whose sons and daughters served so valiantly during World War II. Half a century later, we recall the courage, spirit, and determination of those who went ashore to fight against tyranny. We celebrate D-Day because there, on the windswept beaches of Normandy, the first beach-head for freedom was won in the most epic of all American conflicts.

Inscribed in the chapel in the American cemetery in Normandy are the proud words:

"These endured all and gave all that justice among nations might prevail, and that mankind might enjoy freedom and inherit peace."

At the same time, our Gold Star Mothers endured all—and their deeply felt personal loss did not end in one day. Today, as we enjoy the peace and security our Nation has achieved through the sacrifices of American citizens, Gold Star Mothers can take solace in knowing that their sons and daughters left all humanity a legacy of invaluable meaning.

In respect and recognition of the sacrifices our Gold Star Mothers have made, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 115 on June 23, 1936 (49 Stat. 1895), has designated the last Sunday in September as "Gold Star Mother's Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim September 25, 1994, as Gold Star Mother's Day. I invite the American people to join with me in a fitting salute to our Gold Star Mothers. I also call upon all government officials to display the United States flag on government buildings on this solemn day. I additionally urge the American people to display the flag and to hold appropriate meetings in their homes, places of worship, or other suitable places, as public expression of the sympathy and the respect that our Nation holds for its Gold Star Mothers.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:26 a.m., September 26, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on September 27. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting
the Belarus-United States
Investment Treaty**
September 23, 1994

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Republic of Belarus Concerning the Encouragement and Reciprocal Protection of Investment, with Annex, Protocol, and related exchange of letters, signed at Minsk on January 15, 1994. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to this Treaty.

This bilateral investment Treaty with Belarus is the sixth such Treaty between the United States and a newly independent state of the former Soviet Union. This Treaty will protect U.S. investors and assist the Republic of Belarus in its efforts to develop its economy by creating conditions more favorable for U.S. private investment and thus strengthening the development of the private sector.

The Treaty is fully consistent with U.S. policy toward international and domestic investment. A specific tenet of U.S. policy, reflected in this Treaty, is that U.S. investment abroad and foreign investment in the United States should receive national treatment. Under this Treaty, the Parties also agree to international law standards for expropriation and compensation for expropriation; free transfer of funds associated with investments; freedom of investments from performance requirements; fair, equitable and most-favored-nation treatment; and the investor or investment's freedom to choose to resolve disputes with the host government through international arbitration.

I recommend that the Senate consider this Treaty as soon as possible, and give its advice

and consent to ratification of the Treaty, with Annex, Protocol, and related exchange of letters, at an early date.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 23, 1994.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Nomination for a U.S. District Court
Judge**
September 23, 1994

The President announced today the nomination of Patrick J. Toole, Jr., for the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania.

"Patrick Toole has a profound commitment to public service," the President said. "He will serve Pennsylvania well on the Federal bench."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial
Campaign Committee Dinner in
Chicago, Illinois**
September 23, 1994

Thank you very much. Senator Graham, Senator Simon, Senator Moseley-Braun, Senator Biden, Senator Leahy, Mrs. Daley, Secretary Babbitt, Secretary Shalala. Joe Carey, thank you for doing such a wonderful job tonight. Let me say a special word of thanks to David Wilhelm for his heroic efforts over the last 2 years on behalf of the Democratic Party. David and I were flying in tonight on the helicopter and we flew across the lake and we were coming in, and I said—I looked at him, and I said, "Lord, I love Chicago, and I miss being here." And we went through all of our history together. And I remember so well the night at the Navy Pier when I named him my campaign manager and all the things that happened and the night of St. Patrick's Day in 1992, when the votes in Illinois and Michigan pret-

ty well ensured the nomination of our campaign in the election. I am so glad to be back here, and I want to say a special word of thanks to David and to Degee, who is also here. And I wish them well. They're about to give us one more Democrat in a couple of months—[laughter]—which is the most important thing of all.

We're looking forward to being back here for the convention as well, and I know you'll be a good host. And we will show Chicago to the world in a way that is very, very good.

Let me say—I want to say some political things. I'd like to start by thanking the people who have spoken already so much for what they have said but more importantly for their service to our country and their leadership. Every one of them has rendered enormous service to this Nation and stood up for the ordinary citizens of this country and has been willing to take on the real problems of this country.

But before I get into my remarks about the election and about what's at stake I think I ought to say a few words to you about our mission in Haiti. I'm pleased to report that we're making good progress. I had the opportunity to talk on the plane coming out here with General Shelton, General Meade, and our Ambassador there, Bill Swing, who has done a magnificent job under incredibly adverse circumstances.

Soon our coalition will be at full strength, including about 14,000 American service people, about a thousand military police who will keep a close watch on the Haitian police to see that we do keep order with professionalism and restraint. Soon they'll be joined and then replaced by hundreds of international police monitors from now well over two dozen countries, many of them coming from all over the world because they believe in what we are trying to do there in ending human rights abuses and restoring democracy.

The Haitian military, so far, has cooperated very well with our Armed Forces. They're turning over their heavy weapons. We're helping to buy back light weapons from the militia and the civilians. The situation is already calmer and more peaceful than it was when we got there.

On Monday, the first shipload of Haitian migrants from Guantanamo will go home to Haiti to begin to build a peaceful and a free life, and we expect more to follow soon. Of course, difficulties remain; they are always part of any military undertaking. But I want you to know you can be very proud of the men and women in the armed services that are down there executing a complex and exceedingly difficult task. They deserve our praise, they deserve our prayers, and they deserve our support.

I also want to welcome the three candidates who are here tonight in Chicago: Congressman Sam Coppersmith from Arizona; Jack Mudd, I think clearly one of our most promising challengers from the wonderful State of Montana that was good enough to vote for the Clinton-Gore ticket in 1992; Bob Carr, who's in a tight race in Michigan but who I am convinced is going to win that race and going to be the next Senator from Michigan. Each of them has something important to contribute to the future of this country. And thanks to you, they've got a lot better chance to make that contribution.

I want to talk to you tonight a little bit about what's at stake in this election and what I hope you will do besides give your money between now and November.

Like most of you here, I'm a Democrat by heritage, instinct, and conviction. I was raised by my grandfather until I was 4. He had a fourth-grade education, and he thought when he died, he'd meet God first and FDR second. [Laughter] I was raised to believe that the party to which I belong stood up for ordinary people in extraordinary times and was always looking toward the future for all Americans, not just for a few.

Our party and our Nation has survived for two centuries and more now because we've always found a way to meet the challenges of the moment and to fulfill our goals and to help people move forward in fulfilling their own God-given potential. We've always believed that our country could do better and that we had to do our best to call forth what is best within us. Always we believed that we had to be an engine of change, even when it was tough and even when it would cause us to be misunderstood. Always we believed

that government had a responsibility not necessarily to give people anything except an opportunity to make the most of their own lives and that people in turn, all of our citizens, had a responsibility to follow the American dream and to make our community stronger. Those are the values that have defined us as a party and a people for quite a long while now. They are summed up for me in the three simple words I used all across this country in the '92 campaign: opportunity, responsibility, and community.

Two years ago, the American people knew clearly that we had to make a change, that we couldn't keep going in the direction we were and expect to move to the 21st century with a strong America, a more united America, an America where our children had a chance to make a future better than their parents enjoyed. You sent me to Washington to reverse a dozen years of failed policies that brought higher taxes on the middle class, lower taxes on the wealthy, higher unemployment, reduced investment in our people, and less ability to compete and win in the global economy.

Often I came to Chicago in that campaign, and always I received a rousing reception and always I looked into the heart of America here, because there are all kinds of people here from all racial and ethnic groups, from all walks of life, people who know what it's like to live in a community where you can find unity in diversity and strength across differences. And I told you what I would try to do.

Now, if I had told you then not only what I would try to do, but if I'd told you on election night, for example, that within 20 months we would have cut our deficit by over \$250 billion; eliminated over 100 Government programs outright; raised income taxes only on the wealthiest 1.2 percent of our people; cut taxes for 15 million working families; made 90 percent of our small businesses eligible for a tax cut, thereby bringing 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Truman was President; producing 4.3 million new jobs, including 8 months in a row of increasing manufacturing jobs for the first time in a decade; that we would be voted by the annual roll of the international economists as the most productive country in the

world for the first time in 9 years; that we would increase spending on Head Start, on job training, on apprenticeships for people who don't go to college, and still reduce the Federal payroll, as Senator Biden said, by 270,000 so that by the end of this century we will have—and by the end of this budget cycle, in 5 years, we'll have the smallest Federal Government we've had since John Kennedy was President. You know, the Republicans always bad-mouthed the Government, but they expanded it. We say we're going to make it work, and we have shrunk it.

If I had told you all that, if I told you that here in Illinois there'd be 125,000 new jobs, taxes would be cut for 600,000 families and raised for 79,000 of the wealthiest people of this State to bring that deficit down; if I had told you that in 20 months we'd have more expansion of trade than in any comparable time period in a whole generation, that we would have targeted automobiles, airplanes, ships, and defense conversion into new technologies for special treatment and had helped to revive all those industries; if I had told you that today we would sign a bill modeled on the South Shore Bank in Chicago to put \$4.8 billion into inner-city neighborhoods and devastated rural areas, in banks to loan money to poor people under circumstances that will make the banks money and put free enterprise into devastated economic areas; that we would pass more education reform in any year since 1965; that we would make 20 million Americans eligible to refinance their college loans at lower interest rates and longer repayment terms; now, if I had told you all that and said, Oh, and by the way, after 7 years of delay we would pass the family leave law, after 7 years of delay we would pass the Brady bill, after 7 years of delay we would pass the motor voter bill, after 6 years of delay we would pass a crime bill that puts 100,000 more police on the street, 100,000 more jail cells for serious criminals, prevention programs for kids to have something to say yes to, that takes assault weapons off the streets, even though we had a brutal battle on that with the NRA and the Republican leadership; if I had told you that our national service program would start this year with more people in the first year serving America at the grassroots level

than the Peace Corps had at its peak year and that year after next we'd have 100,000 more young people earning some money for their college education by solving the problems of America here at home, you would have thought that I had slipped a gasket. [Laughter] Wouldn't you? You would not have believed that.

The fact is, that is the record of this administration in the first 20 months, and more. And we've got more to do. But there is a larger purpose behind all these details that sometimes can get lost, and we have to stand back from it.

When I ran for President I said that my goal would be putting the American people first. And Al Gore and I wrote a little book called "Putting People First" that we put our heart into with the best ideas we could come up with from all over the country. We decided we could make Government work for ordinary people and that we could restore the American dream. And if I had told you 20 months ago that we would do all this, you would say, "I do not believe it, but you ought to go try." But that was done with the help of the people standing behind me in the Cabinet and, importantly, in the Congress. It happened because we were willing to say yes to America, we were willing to say that Government should not be on the sidelines, that Government should not be the prisoner of special interests, that Government could not ever be the savior of this country but that we could be a good partner and we could empower the American people to seize control of their destiny and make something of their lives.

And that is exactly what we have done. And we have done it all along the way with the Republican leadership and most of their allies in the Congress voting no on every tough vote and painting an increasingly distorted picture of what happened.

Our economic plan, they say, was the biggest tax increase in history. It raised income taxes on 1.2 percent of the people, cut income taxes on 15 percent of the working people so they wouldn't fall into poverty and wouldn't go on welfare. It brought the deficit down after they quadrupled our national debt in 12 years. But they all voted no.

They think if they can keep the noise up and keep saying no and confusing the American people and playing on their frustrations and their anger and the fact that there are an awful lot of people out there that have justifiable worries still, they may have a job, but they're not ever going to get a raise, it seems like. They may have a job, but they're scared they're going to lose their health care. They may have a job, but they're worried about crime in their neighborhoods and the pressures on families. They believe if they can just keep people in a state of high anxiety they can actually fool the people into voting for the very people who did the things that they're against. That is what they believe.

But, you know, Abraham Lincoln, who was their first and their greatest President, said—it must be disheartening for them; it's been all downhill since then. [Laughter] He said—what did he say? "You cannot fool all the people all the time. You cannot fool—you can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time."

This election is going to give us a chance to get that record out there. When the American people know it, when we say it over and over and over again, and when they see it, they will wonder what the no-sayers have been doing and why they have been filling their ears, their minds, and their hearts with a vision of America that is inadequate to the present and woefully short of what we have to do for the future.

They don't want the American people to know that we've been helping business and creating jobs, that we've been helping working people to get the education and training they need, that we've been helping families to get their kids in Head Start, that we've been giving kids a chance to go to college without regard to their income and that we're actually doing something for middle class kids for a change on college aid. They don't want them to know any of that.

And they sure don't want the American people to know what they've been doing. When we gave the middle class a fair shake in that economic plan by asking the wealthiest Americans to pay their fair share, every Republican in the Congress said no. When we reformed student loans to benefit millions

and millions and millions of middle class students, every Republican in the Congress said no. When we gave 15 million working families a tax cut and made—and I want to say this again—90 percent of the small businesses in the entire United States of America eligible for a tax reduction, every Republican in the Congress said no. When we banned assault weapons, when we fought for health care reform, when we fought for campaign reform, when we fought for the Brady bill, most of the Republicans and their leaders said no. They said yes to the narrow interests, no to the national interests. They don't want you to see that big picture because if they did, you wouldn't like what you saw.

Sure, people are suspicious of all political claims. They've been disappointed, manipulated, and had reality distorted for years now. And their lives are full of negative messages and genuine concern. But I'm telling you, Abraham Lincoln was right. You cannot fool all the people all the time. And your contributions tonight are a sword of truth that these Senate candidates can use to cut through the fog and tell the truth of the record we are making to change America and to put the people of this country first again. And I thank you for it.

I just want you to think about this. When you go home tonight, I want you to think about this. This country has been around a long time now, longer than any other big democracy in human history. And it's here because when we went through tough times and had big challenges, we relied on the people who said yes, yes to the challenge, yes to the change, yes to making the most of the difficult situations. That's why we're still here.

And you know, all around the world, it's amazing, people see us, and they sometimes ask me as I travel the world why we're so agitated, because they would give anything to have an economy with our strength. They would give anything to see people from so many different races and religious backgrounds and ethnic groups living together, working together, voting together, disagreeing together. The things we take for granted about this great country are things other people would literally give their lives for.

Let me just give you a couple of examples, just since I've been your President. Why did the South Africans want the United States to contribute \$35 million and our best experts to help them conduct an election that was free, fair, open, honest, had slews of candidates, and produced Nelson Mandela, who, after 27 years in jail, is coming here for a state visit with the President of the United States in the next few days?

Why did the people of Northern Ireland, after the English and the Irish and the Protestants and the Catholics had been fighting for 800 years want the United States to help to bring peace to Northern Ireland? Why do the people of the Middle East, Israeli and Arab alike, after they have fought for decades and their very existence has been at risk, want to come to the United States and have us play a part of their peacemaking process? Why do these things happen?

Why, even in the 11th hour at the moment of highest tension in Haiti a few days ago, when it was not clear whether there would be an invasion or not, the *de facto* military leaders said, "Well, if the President is determined to do this, and if the United Nations is determined to proceed, at least we want the Americans here. We trust them." Why? Because they know we stand for freedom and democracy and fairness and opportunity, and we know this is the greatest country on Earth.

So here's what I want to ask you to do—in the rhythm of American politics, in almost every election in the 20th century—I haven't checked back in the 19th century—the sitting President's party has lost some seats in the Congress at midterm. The only time in this century when the sitting President's party did not lose seats in at least one section of Congress was in 1934 when all the Republicans killed Social Security, and the Democrats won seats in both Houses.

If the American people knew the litany I gave you tonight, we would win seats in both Houses, wouldn't we? Wouldn't we? In spite of all of the pundits and all the polls, if they knew that we had 4.3 million new jobs, if they knew we had 3 years of deficit reduction for the first time since Truman, if they knew we had the smallest Federal Government since Kennedy, if they knew that we had

passed family leave and the Brady bill and the crime bill, and if they knew that so much we had done was done against overwhelming bitterly partisan opposition, that is what would happen again, wouldn't it? Therefore, you must conclude they do not know. And if you want Abraham Lincoln to be right, then you have a personal responsibility to go beyond your checkbook to your voice and your heart.

Do not let this election go by and let the American people inadvertently vote for the very things they're against. Do not turn back. Keep going. We are moving in the right direction; we are turning the corner. This is a great country, and we are looking to the future. Let's keep doing it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:40 p.m. at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Maggie Daley, wife of Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago; David Wilhelm, chairman, Democratic National Committee, and his wife, Degee; and Major General David Meade, Commander, 10th Mountain Division. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address *September 24, 1994*

Good morning. This week I'm in Chicago, where my radio address is carried live each week by radio station WMAQ.

One week ago, America stood ready to use force if necessary to help restore the democratically elected government in Haiti. American power marshaled in pursuit of our national interest enabled American diplomacy to succeed. Haiti's military leaders agreed to leave power no later than October 15th. And our troops entered Haiti peacefully and without bloodshed, leading an international coalition of 28 nations that will work to bring greater security to the people and restore to power Haiti's democratically elected government.

Today, I am pleased to report on the progress of our mission. The U.S. contribution to the international coalition will soon be at full strength, some 14,000 American service men and women. Our troops include nearly 1,000 military police, who are working

to help ensure that the Haitian police act with restraint toward the Haitian people. Police monitors from our coalition partners, Argentina, Jordan, and Bolivia, are expected to arrive next week. And the United Nations human rights observers expelled from Haiti 2 months ago will soon return. We've also have begun programs to confiscate heavy weapons controlled by the Haitian military and to buy back light weapons from the militia and civilians.

Our presence, in short, is helping to restore civil order in a country wracked by violence and instability. Perhaps the best evidence of our success is that 200 to 300 Haitian refugees who we sheltered at our base in Guantanamo will go home on Monday. And we expect more to follow soon.

This remains a difficult undertaking, as with all military operations, and as I speak to you, Secretary of Defense Perry and General Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are traveling to Haiti to review our progress on the ground. I am proud of our troops and their commanders there. They deserve our thanks, our prayers, and our praise.

Our success in Haiti to date shows what the international community and American leadership can achieve in helping countries in their struggle to build democracy. Our mission, however, is limited. We must remember, as I plan to tell the United Nations General Assembly on Monday, that it is up to the people in those countries ultimately to ensure their own freedom. This is the great challenge and opportunity of democracy.

That's also one of the lessons I hope Americans will learn as Russian President Boris Yeltsin and South African President Nelson Mandela visit our country in the next 2 weeks. Their visits will be occasions to reflect on the remarkable democratic transformations of Russia and South Africa, which the United States has done a great deal to promote.

America should be proud of our leadership in helping to build open societies around the world. By supporting democracy and promoting economic growth, we are actively helping others, but we're helping ourselves at the same time.

Despite this, some people in our country question the importance of American engagement in the post-cold-war world. They say we should hide behind the walls of protectionism and isolationism. But they're wrong.

That's why early next week I'll submit to Congress legislation to implement the GATT world trade agreement, the largest trade agreement in history. By cutting tariffs around the world, GATT will mean a \$36-billion tax cut for Americans over the coming 10 years. It will also generate between 300,000 and 700,000 permanent new jobs in those years and in time many, many more for our children. And most of all, it will mean that we are facing this moment of decision with the confidence we need to meet the challenges of the post-cold-war world, tearing down walls that separate nations instead of hiding behind them.

As we've learned again this week, when we approach our responsibilities around the world with the same sense of purpose, we can indeed accomplish great goals.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. from the Ritz Carlton Hotel in Chicago, IL.

Remarks at a Reception for Senate Candidate Ann Wynia in Minneapolis, Minnesota September 24, 1994

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you, Ann Wynia, for that wonderful introduction and for your fine speech and for what you represent for the State of Minnesota and for the prospects for our country. Thank you, Senator Wellstone, and thank you, Congressman Sabo and Congressman Vento, for helping me to keep my commitments to the American people to move this country forward and for your outstanding leadership. And thank you especially, Senator Graham, for your brilliant leadership of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee and for being such a good and wise and trusted adviser to me on so many issues. I wish Bill Luther luck. And Bruce Vento reached over and whispered in my ear and said, "Now, even though he's run-

ning for Graham's seat, he's really going to win, Bill." [Laughter] Thank you, David Wilhelm, for that rousing speech, for reminding us what we are against as well as what we are for.

Ladies and gentlemen, I came here to ask you to help Ann Wynia get to the United States Senate, not because, as she said, she would agree with me on every issue but because she would bring common sense and common decency to the United States Senate, something we need more of.

You know, half the time when you see what's going on in Washington, you must wonder what is really going on. A lot of us who come from the States and then go to Washington are amazed by the level of political rhetoric and how abstract and almost artificial it seems. We need more people in the United States Congress like Ann Wynia who actually served the folks at the grassroots level, who actually did things to help real people take responsibility for their own lives like the children's health care plan here in Minnesota, which provided health care to 35,000 Minnesota children. That's a lot of families that have been helped to do something in their own lives.

I have been interested in and working on the whole subject of welfare reform for nearly 15 years, and I know that the further you go away from the welfare recipients, the more likely you are to hear hot air and see no results. Ann Wynia I would like to have in the Senate when we pass welfare reform next year because, as commissioner of human services, she didn't just talk about it, she actually moved people from welfare to work, not talking about it but doing it.

I want to talk with you today about what this election is all about, especially from my point of view as your President, someone who has tried hard to be President of all people, without regard to their party or their region or their race or their economic standing.

Two years ago, I ran for President because I wanted to lead this country into the 21st century with the American dream still alive for my daughter and for all the children here, because I thought the Republican leadership in the White House was taking our country in the wrong direction. Their economic policy was not working; it was increasing in-

equality in our country. And their social policy seemed to be to divide us by race, by religion, and other ways, to preach at us instead of to practice and to move forward.

I thought, frankly, we needed a new direction in Washington that came from the grassroots, that we needed to go beyond these partisan fights that had dominated both parties too much. I didn't think that the Government could be the savior of the American people the way we Democrats believed during the New Deal when it was very nearly so then. But neither did I think that Government could just sit on the sidelines when all of our competitors all around the world were taking a different approach. And I didn't think our Government could come off of the sidelines only when the special interests needed help, as opposed to ordinary, middle class Americans.

I thought that we ought to run this country the way most of us try to run our families, our lives, our businesses, our grassroots efforts, that there ought to be a partnership, that the Government, after all, was no more than us. You all pay the bill. Everybody that works up there is your hired hand. Every now and then you have elections and get a chance to not renew contracts or vote for new people if you want. The Government ought to be our partner and ought to do its best to provide economic opportunity, to challenge citizens to assume personal responsibility to make the most of their own lives, and to try to rebuild the frayed bonds of our American communities.

For the last 12 years before I showed up, the leadership in Washington talked about a balanced budget amendment and quadrupled the national debt; talked about helping the middle class, but taxes went up on the middle class and down on the wealthiest Americans; talked about making us competitive but reduced investment in the things which make us competitive, including the education and training of our people; talked a lot about our social problems but didn't do very much about them.

I wanted to bring more jobs to America and help people to begin to raise their incomes again. I wanted to bring more educational opportunities and health care opportunities for people who didn't have them and

to do something to control the spiraling costs of health care. I wanted to rebuild our families and our communities. I wanted to see this country have a Government that worked for ordinary people again. And I desperately wanted it to occur without the kind of partisan rancor that I had seen for the past several years.

Well, after 20 months, I can tell you that we're doing a good job of moving America forward, but we need some help at ending the partisan rancor, and you can't reward it in this election.

Here is why you ought to stick with the direction in which we are going. Two years ago I came here; we had the end of our bus trip here—5,000 miles. And after 5,000 miles, we were running late because there were people on the side of the road at every little crossroads. And a lot of you waited a long time for us to finally show up. There were tens of thousands of people here. And we were all caught up in the excitement of the moment and the promise of a new direction and change for America.

But even with all that optimism, if I had told you 2 years ago that if you elected me President and we got to work up there, within 20 months the following things would happen, you ask yourself, even then, would you have believed? If I had told you that we'd put our economic house in order, \$255 billion worth of spending cuts, scores of programs eliminated outright, raising tax rates on only the top 1.2 percent of the income groups, cutting taxes for 10 times as many people, 15 million in working families to keep them above the poverty line so they didn't give up their jobs and sneak into welfare; if I had told you that it would be a Democratic, not a Republican administration that would make 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut, that would reduce the Federal bureaucracy to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President and would reduce the deficit 3 years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President, you wouldn't have believed it then, but it happened.

If I had told you then that we would expand trade for America's products and services, more in 20 months than had been done in any comparable period for the last 35

years, with NAFTA; with trade with Mexico up 17 percent this year; with the GATT worldwide trade agreement, which will produce between 300,000 and 500,000 jobs for us in the next few years; with new outreaches in Asia and in Latin America; with \$35 billion more in high-tech exports eligible to be sold all across the world; with new initiatives to rebuild shipbuilding and aerospace in this country and build a clean car and sell things all across the world, if I had told you we would do that, that we would launch a major defense conversion program and take the technologies of the cold war to create high-wage jobs in a peacetime economy, and if I had told you that those results would produce \$4.3 million new jobs, 8 months of manufacturing job increases in a row for the first time in a decade, America rated the most productive country in the world for the first time in 9 years, 88,000 new jobs in Minnesota, the unemployment rate dropping here from 5.1 percent to 3.4 percent, tax cuts for 155,000 working families, 26,000 small businesses, tax increases for less than 23,000 families, if I had told you that, you might not have believed it, but it's so, and it happened.

If I had told you that we would make 200,000 more children eligible to be in Head Start programs, immunize 2 million more kids so that all the children under 2 will be immunized by 1996, that we would have a national education strategy in a bill that set world-class educational standards and promoted grassroots reforms like those pioneered right here in Minnesota, that we would launch a national effort to have apprenticeships everywhere to help young people who don't go to college move into high-wage jobs, that we would reform the college loan program to make 20 million people eligible to refinance their loans with lower fees, longer repayment periods, lower interest rates, you might not have believed it, but it happened.

If I had told you that after 7 years of deadlock we would pass the family and medical leave law to enable people to take a little time off, protecting 845,000 people right here in Minnesota; that after 7 years of deadlock we would have passed the Brady bill; that after 6 years of deadlock we would have

passed a crime bill that gave you 100,000 more police, 100,000 more jail cells for violent offenders, "three strikes and you're out," yes to those good prevention programs, a ban on juvenile ownership of handguns, and a ban on assault weapons, you might not have believed it, but it happened.

If I had told you that the national service program I talked so much about would pass the Congress, be the law of the land, provide opportunities for young people all across America to rebuild their communities at home and earn money to go to college as well, 20,000 this year, 100,000 3 years from now, you might not have believed it, but it happened.

If I had told you that around the world we would keep democracy and economic growth as our foremost goal in Russia and we would stop pointing our nuclear weapons at each other; that they would withdraw their troops from Eastern Europe and the Baltics for the first time since World War II; that we would make a new partnership all over Europe with 21 nations to have defense security as one, not being divided; that we would make real headway, dramatic progress on peace in the Middle East, a breakthrough on peace in Northern Ireland, we would be actively involved in conducting the first free and fair and totally multiracial elections in South Africa, you might not have believed it, but it all happened. We are moving this country forward.

And if I had told you we would do that not with a Government that is bigger but one that is smaller, that began with a White House with the biggest work load in decades cutting its own size by 25 percent, a 272,000 reduction in the size of the Federal work force over the next 5 years to finance the crime bill out of savings, taking money from Washington and giving it to you at the community level and reorganizing vast sizes of the Federal Government to cut through red-tape and promote reforms—we have given 17 States permission to embark on their own welfare reform programs, numerous States permission to try to find ways to cover all their citizens with health care coverage—if I had told you these things, you might not have believed it, but it happened. That is the record, the truth, and the facts.

Now, yes, to be sure, there is still more to do. We've had \$100 million spent against us in the health care battle, and we haven't won that one yet. But we will if we keep fighting. We still have to pass the welfare reform bill next year. We still have to pass the trade legislation, campaign finance reform, lobby reform. We have lots to do. But the issue is, are we going to keep doing it, or are we going to become more partisan, more divisive, and more hot air and less real-people oriented in Washington? That is what this election is all about.

We are making progress. The economy is stronger, the deficit is lower, taxes are fairer, trade is greater, working families and communities are safer and building a new security. We are making real progress on hard problems against intense, organized opposition from the other party and from the special interests. That is the fact.

Now, what is our challenge? Our challenge in this election is that many Americans are still profoundly upset with the political system, profoundly disillusioned, even cynical. And they are in the mood to throw the rascals out without distinguishing who the rascals are. But what are the problems?

Number one, most Americans don't know what I just told you, do they? Most of you didn't know a lot of what I just told you, did you? *[Laughter]* What's the second problem? A lot of people have not felt these things. Why? The social problems we have, crime, the family breakdown problems, the violence among young people, they've been developing for 30 years. The economic problems we have, static wages for working people and troubles for farmers and people living in rural areas, they've been developing for 20 years. And the bad political policies that we've had, dividing us, the wealthy against the middle class, different races, different religions, all these political and economic and social problems we have, we had those for the last 12 years.

I have just been there 20 months. We are going in the right direction. Do not turn back. Do not turn back.

I went there, I went to Washington with the fondest hope of reaching out to Republicans on all kinds of issues—health care?

[At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.]

Is there a doctor here?

Audience member. No.

The President. Help. CPR?

Audience member. We have a doctor over here.

The President. We need CPR, though. Who knows CPR? No, wait, wait. Make plenty of room. We okay?

Audience member. Okay.

The President. Give him a hand; he made it up. *[Applause]* I appreciate his support for the urgency of health care reform, and we're glad to see him up and around. *[Laughter]*

Let me ask you something. I want you to know this, too. Keep in mind, I came to Washington not as a creature of Washington. I came to Washington with the fondest hope that we would be able to work together across party lines where we had honest agreements, that we would have to give a little and work a little and we'd work things out. Once in a while we did that.

We had the—the debate over NAFTA was an honest debate where most people just voted their conscience for and against. But it's about the only example I can give you. You look at the economic program. I was not there a week in Washington as your President before I was informed by one of the leaders of the other party that there would be no votes for our economic plan, no matter what changes we made.

So, look what they did. When we gave the middle class a fair break on taxes and cut the taxes for those low-income working families and asked the wealthiest Americans to pay their fair share, every Republican in the Congress said no. When we reformed the loans to benefit middle class college students, not just poor kids, middle class kids, every Republican in the Congress said no. When we gave 90 percent of the small businesses in this country an eligibility for a tax cut, all the Republicans said no. When we banned assault weapons, when we put 100,000 police on the street, when we reduced the size of the Federal Government by 270,000 to pay for that crime bill, when we protected victims in that crime bill, when we had a great section on violence against women and children, most of the Republicans voted no. And all

the leaders did, and those who didn't were told they were being traitors to the Republican Party.

And when they got up and said that our prevention programs were pork, I just want to remind you that a crime bill with the prevention programs in it passed the Senate about a year ago with the votes of the Republicans 42-to-2 for. When we got close to the election and they saw that their obstructionist tactics and their negative tactics were having a positive impact on them in the poll, the 42-to-2 for, changed to 6-to-34 against in the United States Senate. A friend of mine George Mitchell, the Senate Democratic leader, said, "If you took the word 'no' out of their vocabulary, they would be mute." [Laughter]

Let me tell you something, friends, we do have problems. And we must face them. But the issue is this administration has got a good record. We have kept our commitments. We are going in the right direction. We must see the glass is half full, not half empty.

Yes, we still have to change more of the way Government works. But after years with the Republicans badmouthing Government, we are the ones who have reduced the size of Government, we are the ones who've changed regulations of bureaucracy and slashed it and given more power back to State and local governments; we're the ones that gave the small business people the opportunity to walk into the SBA today and apply for a loan on a one-page form and get an answer in 3 days. Those are the kinds of things that we are doing.

And I just want to say this: If we're going to have the energy to keep solving our problems, we have to have our heads on straight and we have to stay with the policies that work. And when we're making progress, we have to know it and we have to get with it. This election is an opportunity for you to reassert what is best about our country, people pulling together and working together and moving forward. It's an opportunity for you to say, by the people you vote for, people like Ann Wynn, to send a signal to America that look, when the Congress gets together again, we don't care whether you're Republican or Democrat, roll up your sleeves and go to work. Don't say no to the other party,

say yes to America. It's time to say yes to America.

This is the greatest country in human history. Every time I leave the borders of America and represent you in another land, I just swell with pride. People would give anything to have the diversity of our economic strength. They would give anything to find the diversity we have in our society. There are counties in America with people from 150 different racial and ethnic groups living in peace, even as people from just 2 or 3 different groups continue to kill each other with abandon in other parts of the world.

And I want you to think about that when you walk out of here. You think about what you can do for a person like Ann and how you want to feel when you see your United States Senator on television coming back from Washington. Do you want one more slogan, one more hot-air rhetoric, one more divisive statement, or do you want to look at somebody you think is imagining what your life is like, imagining how you feel when you put your kids to bed at night, imagining how you feel when you go out to work in the field or at your office the next day? That's really what this is about.

I'm telling you, other people sometimes may have a better fix on us than we do on ourselves. But it is no accident that the South Africans wanted us to spend \$35 million and help them conduct their successful elections. It is no accident that the Israelis and the Arabs want us to help them work out a lasting peace in the Middle East. It is no accident that after hundreds of years of fighting, the turbulence in Northern Ireland may be coming to a close, and they want us to be involved.

And let me say this. Even at the most difficult moment of our encounter last week in Haiti, the military leaders looked at the delegation that I sent down there and said, "Well, if the President is determined to do this, and if the United Nations is determined to go forward, then at least we want the Americans in here; we know we can trust them."

That is what we are to the rest of the world. So let us be that to ourselves by voting for people who can bring out the best in us and say yes to America, people like Ann Wynn.

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:16 p.m. at the Minneapolis Convention Center.

Remarks at a Reception for Senate Candidate Alan Wheat in Kansas City, Missouri

September 24, 1994

Thank you very much, Governor Carnahan, for your leadership on so many fronts, on health care and welfare reform and for being a good friend and a good leader of this State. To you and Mrs. Carnahan, it's good to see you again. I have been here to Missouri and to Kansas City so much that the Governor and Mayor Cleaver told me that if I came one more time I would get a tax bill. [Laughter] But I have such a good time it might be worth it.

I'm honored to be here with your Mayor and Mrs. Cleaver. I thank him for his leadership on the crime bill especially. He made a real difference in the work that he and the other mayors did. I'm honored to be here with Chairman McCarthy, who will be an able replacement for Alan Wheat. And with all your other distinguished supporters of Alan Wheat and Yolanda.

I really wanted to come here tonight, and I hope you will give me a few moments to tell you why I think this is an important race to our country in terms of what it is I have been trying to do as your President.

Two years ago, I ran for President at a time in my life when I didn't really want to do it. I was having a wonderful time as Governor of your neighboring State. Things were going very well for me and for my wonderful family. Our friends, our work, everything, was just perfect. And it didn't look like much of a race. At the time when I entered the race the incumbent President was at 70-some percent approval. So I not only was disrupting a job that I loved and my family life and my friends and the routines and the rhythm of normal life out here in the heartland, but it looked like it was a fool's errand.

I did it for a pretty simple reason. I felt very strongly that our country was in trouble, that we were going in the wrong direction, and that we were coming apart when we

ought to be coming together. I thought there was a serious chance that we would not go into the next century in a position to preserve the American dream for my daughter and for the children of this country.

I thought the leadership that the other party had provided in the White House had followed economic policies that were unfair but, more importantly, didn't work and talked about the social problems in this country in ways that divided us in order to get them votes and turn the Democrats into aliens, making voters feel that we didn't somehow share their values. But they didn't much do anything about the social problems of the country.

I thought both parties in Washington were guilty of being a little too partisan and used rhetoric, throwing at each other these words that we heard in sound bites on the evening news that didn't mean much to folks that are just living out here in the country, trying to make a living and raise their kids and deal with all the problems they face. And I thought we needed to take a new direction.

I believed strongly that we needed to try to form a new consensus in America about what the National Government ought to do; that no one felt in this global economy, where more and more of our future is determined by our competitive ability, that the Government could be a savior, as people once felt. But neither, clearly to me, could we afford to have a National Government that just sat on the sidelines and preached at us except when they were called into play for the special interests. And we were given these two different models of what the National Government ought to do and neither one of them made any sense. We really needed somebody to go up there and bring common sense, common decency, compassion, say, "Hey, let's identify our problems, identify what the National Government has to do and get after it. Let's be a good partner with the American people. Let's create opportunity where we can. Let's demand responsibility for the American people to do what they have to do. And let's recreate this American community, because when we're together, nothing can stop us." And I ran on that for President.

I ran against what had happened for 12 years, more division, more diversion, more

distraction. The other crowd talked about the balanced budget amendment and quadrupled the debt. They told us how much they hated Government, and they hung on for all they were worth. *[Laughter]* A lot of the ones that bad-mouthed Government couldn't bear to live outside Washington, DC. They told us how terrible the Government was, and they kept drawing their check every month from the Government. *[Laughter]* They railed against taxes as if they were protecting the middle class, but middle class taxes went up and taxes went down on the wealthiest Americans. Inequality got worse, and we didn't have much of a policy.

I believed we could do better. So 2 years ago I set out to travel this country and try to prove it. Thanks to the leadership that I enjoyed here in our campaign in Missouri, and thanks to the fact that I had a lot of friends and roots here, and maybe because I was your neighbor, you gave me a resounding victory in that election. And I'm grateful for that.

Here's what this is all about right now. And I want you to listen to this because this is important. On the night I was elected President, with a 10-point margin in Missouri, let me ask you, if I had gotten up in my acceptance speech and I had said, "Folks, thank you for electing me. I'm going to keep my pledge to you to get this country moving again and to pull this country together again, and within 20 months we will have put our economic house in order with the biggest budget cutting in history, with the elimination of scores of Government programs; we will raise tax rates on only the top 1.2 percent of the people and ask them to pay the deficit down, but we'll give a tax break to 10 times that many people, 15 million working families who are raising children just above the poverty line, because we don't want them to go back into welfare, we want them to keep working; we'll make 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut; we will reduce the size of the Federal bureaucracy to its lowest point since John Kennedy was President; and we will have 3 years of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was President," if I had told you that on election night, you

would not have believed it. But it has happened.

If I had told you on election night that within 20 months we would have done more to expand trade for American products than in any comparable time period in 35 years; that NAFTA would lead to a 17-percent increase in exports to Mexico and help to fuel the boom in the auto industry, adding more employees; that we would have a worldwide trade agreement, new initiatives in Asia, new initiatives in Latin America; that we would have a real effort for the first time in decades to rebuild our shipbuilding industry, our aerospace industry; that we would be converting defense industries into engines of commercial resurgence with a remarkable innovative, high-tech-oriented defense conversion program; if I had told you that we were going to do all that, that we would target the inner cities and the poor rural areas, not for Government handouts but for free enterprise with community development banks designed to put almost \$5 billion in loans to people who can go into business for themselves, and help make the banks make money as well; and that all of this together would produce 4.3 million new jobs in 20 months, 8 months of manufacturing growth for the first time in a decade in a row, that for the first time in 9 years the United States would be voted the most productive country in the world, that there would be more than 115,000 new jobs in Missouri, tax cuts for 300,000 Missourians, with tax increases on only 21,000; if I had told you that, you would not have believed it. But it happened. It's so.

On top of all that, we have passed the most comprehensive education legislation in any comparable time period since 1965, increased the people in Head Start by 200,000. We're going to immunize 2 million kids. By 1996, all kids under the age of 2 will have their shots. We're going to have a national program to help States have apprenticeships for young people who don't go to college but do want to have good jobs. And we have reformed the student loan program so that already 20 million young Americans, including over 300,000 right here in Missouri, are eligible to refinance their college loans with lower

fees, longer pay-out terms, lower interest rates. That is so. That has happened.

If I had said, after 7 years of gridlock in Washington, we're going to pass the family and medical leave bill, giving 900,000 Missouri families the security of knowing that they can be successful parents and successful children, as well as successful workers because they won't lose their job if they have to take a little time off from work; that we would pass the Brady bill after 7 years of obstinate refusal, that the crime bill we pass would have every single element I pledged in the campaign—100,000 more police officers, that's a 20 percent increase of on-street police officers, 100,000 more jail cells for serious offenders, tougher penalties for violent offenders, prevention funds that work, and drug treatment funds, and drug education funds to keep these kids out of trouble in the first place, a ban on juvenile ownership of handguns and the assault weapons ban, and a ban that protects, contrary to what the NRA says, protects 650 hunting weapons by any encroachment by the Federal Government whatever, you would not have believed it. But that is exactly what has happened in the last 20 months.

All the while it has been the Republicans who say they hate Government; we've got too much Government. And all the while when they had it, Government got bigger and less responsive and less effective. But under the Democratic administration, we voted to reduce the size of the Federal bureaucracy by 270,000 over 6 years and to put all the money into paying for the crime bill to make people safer at the grassroots. Under this administration, we made the Emergency Management Agency go from the most unpopular to the most popular agency in the Federal Government. Ask Governor Carnahan and anybody that dealt with the horrible flood in the Federal Government.

I could keep you here all night doing this. But I want you to know the point. The point is, we have taken on tough issues that were important to the American people; we have brought real change, and we are moving in the right direction. We don't want to turn back now and give it back to the other people.

Of course, there is still work to do. We still have to find a way to control health care costs and provide health care security to all Americans. We can't go on. In just the last day or so, one of our major newspapers carried one more horrible article about how we were spending more on health care than any country in the world by light years, and we were losing coverage, and small businesses were going broke, and families were being left behind. I will never forget the million people who wrote to me and to my wife and said, "Help us. We need health care," or "We want to provide it for our employees," or "Somebody's got to give us a chance to buy it at affordable rates." Yes, we still have to do that; yes, we still have to pass welfare reform at the national level. But on our own, we've given 17 States, including Missouri, waivers to do what they can do at the grass-roots level to move people from welfare to work. We've made a good beginning.

Yes, we have to pass campaign finance reform, lobby reform, a whole spate of environmental initiatives that are important to the future of this country. We still have to pass the world trade agreement in the Congress. But look what's happened: The economy is stronger; the deficit is lower; the tax system is fairer; trade is greater. We are moving forward. We are doing it with an administration that is both diverse and excellent in terms of geography, race, gender, background. We are in a situation where working families, because of the initiatives we have taken, are going to be able to be more secure, more safer, in stronger communities.

That is the real record. Now, what is the problem? I'll tell you what the problem is. Number one, nobody knows it. Even you didn't know some of this stuff, right? [*Laughter*] You have no way to find out.

I saw an article the other day where some fellow had done a focus group with some people that voted for Mr. Perot in the last election, after my press conference, and they heard me reel off some of this. And they said, "You know, I never thought the President was dishonest, but I just don't believe that. That couldn't be true. We'd know it."

Well, it is true. And you don't know it because you can't find out in the fog that surrounds what we do. But it is true. And you

must take that truth to the voters because it relates directly to why Alan Wheat should be a Senator.

Now, let's be honest. People have real reasons to still be frustrated and feel negatively about the Government. They still have problems. Many of these initiatives have passed, but people haven't felt them yet. The social problems we have in our country, the drugs, the breakdown of the family, the rising violence, they've been developing for 30 years. The problems working people are having, never getting a raise, even when they work harder, because of the global economy, they've been developing for 20 years.

The wrong-headed policies that Washington pursued were in place for 12 years, and all that anti-Government rhetoric and that negativism and that predisposition to believe the worst about anybody that shows up in Washington, DC, that's been developing for 12 years.

I have only been there 20 months, but we're going in the right direction, and we do not want to turn back now.

While we have been doing—more jobs, lower deficits, more trade, more opportunity, more education, more training, tougher crime bill, smaller Government—while we have been doing, they have been talking. And they are great at talking. And they have peddled fear and division and diversion with unconscionable distortion for so long they feel not guilt whatever in whatever they say. And they are good at it. They are good at it. Sam Rayburn once said, "Any old jackass can kick down a barn, but it takes a carpenter to build one." [Laughter] It also takes longer to build one than it does to kick one down.

While we've been saying yes to the American people, here's where Alan comes in. I wasn't in Washington a week before they started trying to turn me into one of them to all of you. I wasn't in Washington a week until one of the Republican leaders said to me, "You will not get one, single, solitary vote for your economic plan, no matter what you do to it—nothing." And so every one of them voted no when we gave the middle class a fair shake in that economic plan, cut taxes for 15 million working families. They did it because we asked the top 1.2 percent, includ-

ing some of you in this room, to pay a little more. Every one of them voted no.

When we said, "Let's do something for the middle class for a change and reform this student loan program and give middle class families a break so they can borrow the money to go to college," every one of them voted no, every one. When we said, "You say you're the small business party. Let's lower taxes on 90 percent of the small businesses in this country by increasing their expensing provision by 70 percent," every one of them voted no, every one of them. When we said, "Let's reduce the size of the Federal Government," which we did first in that bill, every one of them voted no.

Then when we got to this crime bill, last year the crime bill passed with 95 votes in the Senate, 42 to 2, the Republicans voted for it. And it was a lot like the bill we ultimately passed—had a few more police officers, some more money for prisons. But remember that pork speech they gave you? You know how it works: They pass a bill; the House passes a bill; you put them together; the final bill comes back. Well, from the time they voted 42 to 2 for the crime bill until it came back, there was not a lot more money on an annual basis for prevention programs in there. In fact, in 4 of the years, there was less money than they had already voted for. And many of the programs in there for prevention had been cosponsored by Republicans. It was a total bipartisan effort last year before the election started. But when they got to talking instead of doing, and telling everybody how terrible we all were and how, you know, nothing was happening, and they saw it was helping them in the polls, they changed like that, and they went from 42 to 2 for it to 6 to 38 against it. And the six brave people who voted for it, including the person that Alan is trying to replace, were excoriated by their leaders for betraying the Republican Party who said that the party was far more important than bringing the crime rate down in America and saving people's lives.

Now, when we started this health care debate, there were 24 Republican Senators—24—on a bill to provide coverage for health care for all Americans and to control costs. I didn't agree with the way they wanted to do it, but we had the same objective. They

said, "We're for covering everybody, too. We want to control costs. Mr. President, we think we've got a better idea." I said, "This is wonderful. This is what I wanted to do. We'll have a bipartisan consensus. We'll work this through."

But then they got a memo from their political boss, not elected by anybody, who said, "You must defeat health care at all costs. You will give the Democrats too big a victory for the middle class, and we won't be able to keep middle class voters by scaring them about values and telling them the Democrats aren't like them. You must defeat it." So by the time the health care legislation got to the floor, how many Republicans in the Senate were still for universal coverage and controlled costs? Zero. It went from 24 to zero.

Now, that is what is going on there. We say yes; they say no. You hear conflict; conflict and defeat is what you hear. You don't know what has been done, and it's hard to assess responsibility. And I went there, folks—you remember—I went there saying both parties had been at fault in the past. We needed less partisanship, not more. I wanted to reach out my hand in this crime bill. I did reach out to the Republicans in the House and the Senate. And we got a few of them who were brave enough and good enough and cared enough about you to pass that thing.

But I am telling you, this is the most intense partisan atmosphere—and why? Because they think they are about to be rewarded for their obstreperous tactics. They believe they can sucker the American people into voting for what the American people are really against, which is too much partisanship, too much gridlock, too much special interest politics. And they believe they can do it because folks can't quite figure what's going on, and they can say, "We've got a Democrat in the White House and the Democrats in the House and the Senate have more than we do." Now, that is what is going on.

So Alan Wheat is important to Missouri. But he's important to the country, not because we will always agree—[*applause*—not because we will always agree, but because he will show up for work in the morning. [*Laughter*] Too many of them show up for

talk; or when their leaders say, turn right instead of left, go back instead of forward, they say, yes sir, tell me where to stand and when to walk. Now that is a fact. So I ask you to think about that.

The greatest Republican President—some of us think the greatest President we ever had, Mr. Lincoln—once said that you can fool all of the people some of the time, and you can fool some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all the time. This election is going to test that proposition. I think Lincoln was right. You can't do it unless people don't know the facts. So I am asking you to do more than give money to Alan Wheat. I am asking you to go out and tell people the facts. They will peddle fear; we will peddle hope. They will say no, and we will say yes.

Harry Truman said, "America was not built on fear. It was built on courage, imagination, and an unbeatable determination to do the job at hand." The job at hand is just what it was 2 years ago, to get this country into the 21st century with a good future for our children, in a world that is more secure, more peaceful, and more democratic, and to do it by enabling all of us together to live up to the fullest of our God-given capacities. That is the job at hand.

We are doing the job at hand. Go tell the people of Missouri that and send Alan Wheat to the Senate.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:24 p.m. at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Mel Carnahan and his wife, Jean; Mayor Emanuel Cleaver II, and his wife, Dianne; and Karen McCarthy, Democratic candidate for Congress. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at the Bethel A.M.E. Church in New York City September 25, 1994

The President. Thank you so much.

[*At this point, the President was interrupted by the sound of a siren.*]

The President. That's my introduction there, you hear it? [*Laughter*] Pastor Mac-

key, thank you. Thank you very much. Pastor Mackey, first let me say on behalf of my family, we are glad to be here in this church with its great history going back to 1819, running the Underground Railroad to help people to freedom. I'm also glad to be here in this African Methodist Episcopal church because your church has a long history with my home State, Arkansas, and my hometown, Little Rock, where Bishop Allen came a long time ago as part of his effort to found this church. I also want to thank you, if I might, for just letting us come here and worship. And I would like to say that for Hillary and for Chelsea and for me, this has been a great morning. And I'm sure I can say that all three of us are very grateful to all of you just for letting us come in here and to be with you.

I got a good lesson out of the briefest sermon I've heard in a long time. *[Laughter]* And I got a good lesson out of one of the most beautiful songs I have heard in a long time. I loved all the music. You know, I like music and even as I get older and I can't sing quite in tune anymore—I heard that fine man singing, "Work on Me." *[Laughter]* So I need to be here, and I need to hear that. And then I heard your pastor say, "There is always a word from the Lord."

I am grateful to be here with all these people who are my friends, with the Governor, about whom I will say more in a moment, and Carl McCall and my dear friend Ruth Messinger and Mark Green and Denny Farrell and Senator Patterson, Alderman Wright and Karen Burstein who wants to be your attorney general. That's the best job I ever had. I was attorney general of my State, and you don't have to hire people or fire them. You don't have to raise taxes or cut programs. And if she ever does anything unpopular, she can just say the Constitution made her do it. *[Laughter]* I hope you'll give her the chance to do it. And I want to say a special word of thanks about my friend Charlie Rangel, for what he said. You know, Charlie talked about Haiti. Let me say that for Hillary and for me, for both of us, he has been a wonderful friend and partner in so many ways. But I want to use him today in a way to get into what I want to talk about briefly.

Charlie mentioned Haiti and how the people were defenseless and poor and how hard it is for me to convince some people that our interest is at stake there, although I think more and more Americans are seeing that what we are doing there is good and supports democracy throughout our hemisphere—which is nothing more than saying our neighborhood—helps to end human rights violations that we find intolerable everywhere but unconscionable on our doorstep, and offers them a chance at stability.

But it is an example of what I ran for President about. I thought I had two jobs to get us into the next century. One is to move this country forward, just to get us to face our problems again—jobs, education, drugs, violence, crime, health care—just to face the problems and go to work on them instead of just talking about them all the time. And the other was to bring this country together instead of letting it drift apart and to try to bring the world together across the lines of race and region and income and religion.

I have just finished reading, late last night, a book about World War II and President and Mrs. Roosevelt. And I am reminded, as I think of our brave soldiers from all over the country and all their backgrounds doing their work today in Haiti, that in World War II, African-Americans were kept segregated in units in the Army until the Battle of the Bulge at the end of the war, when they had so many casualties that blacks and whites had to fight together. And they didn't do it very long before they found out they liked it very well. And the only complaint recorded in this book I read was that some of the white officers said that their black comrades were so ferocious they could hardly get them to quit fighting even when they needed to rest. I am reminded that in World War II we put Japanese-Americans in concentration camps, and then we let their children serve. And a Japanese outfit had the highest casualties of any American outfit in World War II. And in this book, I saw the picture painted by the author of the military people going to the concentration camps to give the parents of the dead boys their medals while they were keeping them behind bars because we were fighting Japan, a country they had given up.

When I was fighting to build an economic partnership with Mexico, I was reminded in so many of our endeavors, Mexican-American soldiers have had the highest rate of casualties. I look at Charlie Rangel who served his country in uniform bravely and his son who served as a United States Marine, and I think to myself, this is a country that, if we can figure out how to live together, will be strong all the way through the next century because the world is getting smaller, and if people who are different can find oneness, there is nothing that can stop them.

That is why the South Africans wanted the United States to help run the election and spend a few million dollars for an honest election that produced the President, Nelson Mandela, that is coming here to see me in a few days. That is why the people in Ireland, having fought for 800 years against one another, wish the people of the United States to be involved in trying to bring an end to their conflict. That is why the Israelis and the Arabs wish the United States to be involved in bringing an end to that horrible, horrible period of violence in the Middle East. This is a very great country.

Even in the moment of great tension one week ago today in Haiti, when I did not know whether we would actually have to shoot our way in there, the de facto military leaders told our delegation there, President Carter, General Powell, and Senator Nunn, "Well, if the President is determined to do this, if the United Nations is determined to do this, we want the Americans here because we trust them." I say that because if we can just face our challenges and move forward and come together, we're going to be all right.

Now when the pastor said, "There is always a word from the Lord," I looked at the program and I saw the word from the Lord, Isaiah 40:31, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength. They will mount up with wings as eagles." But I want to talk to you about the rest of the verse, "They shall run and not grow weary. They shall walk and not faint."

I have a simple message for you today. The people who don't want us to get together and who have a very different idea about moving forward than most of us do are hoping and praying that you will grow weary, that you

will not run, that you will not walk, that you will just grow weary.

Look at Mr. McCall here. How many times do people all over America say, "If only our children had more role models, if only men would take responsibility for their families and their communities and set a good example and lift our children up." Oh, how many times do you hear it said? Well, folks, you've got a chance to send a message to this entire country that people who make something of themselves and who stand for something good and who work for what is right will be rewarded without regard to their background, that we are going to go forward and we are going to do it together. And if you will not grow weary, you can do it.

And let me say something about Governor Cuomo. His greatest failing is he speaks about me better than he speaks about himself. *[Laughter]* By the time he got through nominating me for President in New York, he had me convinced I ought to have the job. *[Laughter]* I grew 3 inches sitting out there in the pew today just listening to him talk.

They say, "Well, the Governor will have a hard time getting reelected; after all, he's running for a fourth term." I know about that. I did that one time. And I was out in a little booth in the State fair in Little Rock—I want you to listen to this, this could be about him instead of me, this is how it happened—and every year at the State fair in my little rural State, I would go to the fair and have a Governor's Day. And anybody could come up and talk to the Governor and say whatever they wanted. And I lived in a rural State where most people call me by my first name, including my enemies, and they said whatever they wanted. *[Laughter]* And so I listened to this all day. And I was having to decide whether I would run for reelection. I had been Governor a long time. And along toward the end of the day, an old man in overalls came up to me, and he said, "Bill, you going to run again?" I said, "I don't know. If I do, will you vote for me?" He said, "Yes, I will. I always have." And I said, "Well, aren't you sick of me after all these years?" He said, "No, but everybody else I know is." *[Laughter]* And then he said, "But what do you expect? All you have done is

nag us. You're always trying to get us to do something else, always pushing us on jobs and education and taking care of kids." And he said, "You know, it's just hard to take all that. But you know something? It's beginning to work, and I'm going to stick with it." And I went all across my State and told that story on myself. But I told the last part, too, and the people sent me back.

How many times in the Bible—I think two or three times—does our Saviour say, "A prophet is not with honor except in his own land"? Most places would give anything to have a leader like Governor Cuomo. And you can say, "Well, he's been there a long time." Let me tell you something: In a lot of ways, this is his first term and it just started, because it's the first time we've had a chance to work together as partners.

I ask you to consider the problems of America, the breakdown of community, the breakdown of family, the rise of drugs and violence and gangs, the things that grip you here every day. Do you think that just started yesterday? That's been going on for 30 years. I told my wife and daughter as we were coming up here today that when I was a young man living in England, I used to come back to the United States when I was sent over there for a couple of years, and I would land in New York. And unlike most people like me, I mean, here I was—and I had an even bigger accent back then—I took the transportation and I got off at 125th and Lenox—[laughter]—every time I came back here, and I walked alone through Harlem because I was fascinated by it. I wanted to see the people. I wanted to talk to the people. I wanted to see what they were up against.

Even then I can remember some people, back when the drug of choice was heroin, leaning in corners with needles in their arms. This didn't just happen overnight, friends. And these economic problems that we've got, they've been going—the social problems, 30 years. What are the economic problems? Not only do we have a lot of people out of work, we've got a lot of people working like crazy never getting a raise, right? And they are worried about losing their health care, or they're worried about losing their pensions. How long has that been going on? Twenty years. Twenty years we have been struggling

to organize ourselves and to educate ourselves and to be competitive in a global economy.

And then our governmental policies, how long did we hear from our Government that the real answer to all of our problems was, bad-mouth the Federal Government, lower taxes on the wealthiest of Americans, burden the middle class, reduce investment in our future, and explode the debt? And all the time, the people that were in cussed the Government as they were doing their best to stay in the Government and keep drawing those checks. That happened for 12 years, right?

I have been President for 20 months, not 30 years, not 20 years, not 10 years. When Mario Cuomo became Governor, it was all he could do to stand up against the tide of walking away from the States, walking away from the cities, walking away from the people. And in 20 months, because we're working together, my partner Mr. Rangel and I, my partner Governor Cuomo and I, we're all working together with people in the private sector.

We brought our national deficit down for 3 years in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was President. We've done something the other party said they were for, but never did: We have reduced the size of the Federal Government. It's going to be as small as it was since Mr. Kennedy was President, at the end of my term. But we gave all the money back to you to pay for the crime bill the Governor talked about. We empowered the communities and the States to hire the police, to build the prisons, to have the drug education, the drug treatment, the other programs for the kids, the job programs. We at least got the health care into both Houses of Congress and on the floor for the first time in American history, and we've got to keep doing that. We've had 4.3 million new jobs, manufacturing jobs increasing for almost a year now, the longest period they've increased in a decade. Our country was voted the most productive country in the world by a panel of international economists just the other day for the first time in 9 years.

Just this week, I signed a bill that will help Harlem, that will help New York City, that will point \$4.8 billion into special banks to loan money to poor folks who can't borrow

money to go into business, just this week, something I specifically pledged to do when I ran for President.

What's happening? We're having an election in which there are 30 years of social problems, 20 years of economic problems, and 12 years of politics bad-mouthing the Government. And we've done more in any 20-month period than anybody has in a month of Sundays. But a lot of people have not felt it yet, and they cannot know it, as the Governor said, because there's no way for them to get the information except in an election where we tell people.

So we now find a situation in which the people may actually go out and vote for the very things that they are against because they don't know what has happened in the last 20 months, and they see the wake of the last 30 years and an election which depends largely on its outcome on those same people's ability to bad-mouth those of us that are trying to move the country forward and bring the country together so you will be weary and stay home and not mount up with wings as eagles, not run or walk without growing weary or fainting.

One day, a long time ago, I suffered a terrible setback in my public life. I was trying to do something for the people of my State. It was a very bad day for me, not personally, but because I had failed to help hundreds of people I had worked to help. And my secretary, who was a great woman of faith, kept one of those Scripture calendars on her desk. And I was alone in my office, almost in tears, and she looked at the calendar for the first time and ripped off the calendar piece and brought it into me and gave me what has ever since been my favorite verse of Scripture from St. Paul's letter to the Galatians: "Let us not grow weary in doing good, for in due season we shall reap if we do not lose heart."

I say to you today, my fellow Americans, we've just been here 20 months. We're 4.3 million jobs better. We're a crime bill better. We're the immunization bill better; 2 million kids are going to get their shots by '96. We're 200,000 more children in Head Start better. We're coming together more.

Do not lose heart. Show up. Talk to the people in your neighborhoods; tell them to

show up. Scripture says we're supposed to be good citizens, too. Mario Cuomo is the heart that you must not lose. Mr. McCall is the heart that you must not lose. These people are the heart that you must not lose. Do not let a moment pass. When the movement is in the forward direction and the feelings are not there yet, stay strong, mount up, go forward.

God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:39 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. O'Neil Mackey, Sr., pastor, Bethel A.M.E. Church; Carl McCall, New York State comptroller; Ruth W. Messinger, Manhattan Borough president; Mark Green, New York City public advocate; Herman D. (Denny) Farrell and Keith L. Wright, members, New York State Assembly. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on Haiti

September 25, 1994

We regret any loss of life in connection with our mission in Haiti, but it must be clear that U.S. forces are prepared to respond to hostile action against them and will do so. We will continue to work with Haitian military authorities for a peaceful transition.

Remarks at a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Dinner in New York City

September 25, 1994

Thank you very much, Congressman Fazio. Thank you, first of all, for the absolutely wonderful job you have done in the leadership of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. That is very often a thankless task. It requires a Member of Congress to travel a long way from home, even when he or she may need to be home. And Vic has done it; Judy has worked hard; they have been brilliant. And I am very, very grateful for what they have done. I'd also like to thank Sumner Redstone and Phyllis and all the rest of you who have done your part to make this night a success. And I thank all the Members of the Congress who are here who are my partners in this effort to change our country and move it forward.

I want to talk a little tonight about why this election is important and why we need not simply your contributions but your commitment to work and to talk and to reach your friends in the next several weeks.

Two years ago, I was involved in a campaign for President that started almost 3 years ago now. Up until that time, I was living at home, doing my job as Governor of my State, serving my fifth term. Our economy was finally beginning to grow much more rapidly than the Nation's, after a decade of working to turn it around. I was as happy as I had ever been, personally and professionally, and I felt immensely committed to the work I was doing.

I left that job and embarked on what a lot of people thought was a fool's errand. The incumbent President was in at 70 percent in the polls or more. I did it because I did not believe our country was facing up to the challenges of the post-cold-war world. I did not believe we were doing what we needed to do to move into the 21st century the strongest and greatest country in the world, keeping the American dream alive for our children. I thought the leadership of the other party was taking us in the wrong direction.

I watched for 12 years while we talked about how terrible Government spending was and quadrupled the national debt. I watched people talk about how they wanted term limits and then be willing to say anything in the wide world to get elected so they could keep drawing a Government check. I watched people talk about the idea of America and then try to divide Americans by race, by region, by religion. I watched people say they represented the interests of ordinary Americans and then raise taxes on the middle class, lowered them on the wealthiest Americans, and still not invest in our country, in fact, reduced investment in education and training and the things that would enable ordinary Americans to compete and win in the global economy.

And I also believed there needed to be some change in the way both parties worked in Washington. I would, like most Americans do, get a lot of my news by sitting at home at night and looking at the television news or reading the newspaper. And I would often think that the sound bites, the clips that came

across the airwaves, didn't bear much relationship to the world I lived in and the people I lived around and the concerns that the people I represented, had.

Politics in Washington seemed to me to be unduly negative, unduly partisan, and frankly, unduly abstract and divorced from the way people are. I thought that we needed a conception of the role of our National Government in our lives that was somewhat different than the debate often seemed to be. I didn't think that Government could answer all the problems or be a savior, but neither did I think Government could sit on the sidelines or just sort of enter the game when there were particular interests that needed to be protected.

It seems to me that we ought to learn to believe in our Government again as an extension of ourselves, as our partner, that in a world that is properly and thankfully dominated by private sector and free markets, the Government ought not to do things that others could do as well or better. But there are some things the Government has to do to ensure opportunity for Americans, to enable Americans to assume personal responsibility for their own welfare and that of their families, and to rebuild this almost mystical thing we know as the American community.

We're going into a period of profound change. And the dimensions of the future are not fully clear to anybody. But it is obvious to me that the success of this country will depend as much as anything else on our spirit, on our attitude, on whether we believe we can make change our friend and not our enemy, on whether we believe that our diversity is a source of strength and unity and not weakness and division, and on whether we are willing to have the discipline as well as the courage and vision to pay the price of time, because many of the conditions with which we must deal did not arise overnight and cannot be erased overnight.

After 12 years in which I thought this country was not led very well because we were divided instead of united and because we weren't going forward, we were going backward economically, I thought we could change all that. So I ran for President. And I got elected. And I have to tell you that if you ask me to evaluate how well we've

done in the last 20 months, I think we have done an excellent job of moving the country forward. But I still haven't figured out how to bring the country together given the obstacles to honest, open, clear debate and the obstacles of people even getting the information about what is going on.

If on the day I was inaugurated President I had given an Inaugural Address that said, 20 months from now, folks, consistent with my campaign commitments, we will put our economic house in order; we will have cut the deficit by a record amount, over \$500 billion, much more than it was going to be cut under the previous administrations in their plans; we would have way over \$250 billion in spending cuts; we would abolish scores of Government programs outright; we would raise taxes on the wealthiest 1.2 percent of Americans, including virtually everybody in this room—thanks for sticking with us—[laughter]—but we would lower taxes on more than 10 times as many Americans, 15 million of them living in families where people are working and raising children just above the poverty line, and we don't want them to give up on work and go on welfare, we want them to succeed as workers and parents; that we would make 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut; that we would reduce the Federal bureaucracy to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President—the other guys always talked about hating the Government, but it got bigger under them, we made it smaller; and that we would have 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since President Truman was in office, if I had told you that 20 months ago, you'd say, "There's another one of those politicians making promises that he can't keep." But that is exactly what we have done. That is the record of this administration and this Congress.

If I had said, in 20 months we will have more expansion of world trade than at any time in the last 35 years; the Federal Government will get back on the side of American business and American workers in trying to compete and win in the global marketplace; we'll have a strategy for aerospace; a strategy for shipbuilding, a strategy for automobile, a strategy for high tech; we will take \$30 bil-

lion off the list of things we can't sell overseas and start selling them; we will sell in California everything from rice to apples in Japan for the very first time; we will pass NAFTA and trade will increase to Mexico 17 percent in one year alone, we'll actually be adding auto workers in America because of our expansion of trade with our neighbor to the south, if I had told you all that, you'd say, "Well, that sounds good, but you can't do it." But that is in fact the record of this administration, and that is what has been done.

And the result has been—if I had told you this, you'd have really thought I was nuts: 4.3 million new jobs in 20 months, over 90 percent of them in the private sector in contrast with the record of the previous decade; 8 months of manufacturing job growth in a row for the first time in 10 years; and for the first time in 9 years America was voted in the Annual Review of International Economists as the most productive economy in the world, the number one economy in the world, for the first time in 9 years. That is the record of the last 20 months that this Congress has helped this administration to make, working with the American people.

If I had said that in 20 months we will pass more education and training reform legislation than in any comparable period in the last 20 years, 200,000 more young people in Head Start; the Goals 2000 bill which establishes national standards for the performance of our schools and promotes grassroots reforms to achieve them; a national program to help every State have a system for moving the kids who don't go to college into high-wage jobs with extra training and apprenticeships; a dramatic reform of the student loan program which has made 20 million Americans eligible to refinance their college loans at lower fees, lower interest rates, and longer repayment terms; 100,000 young Americans over 3 years in national service solving the problems of America at home and earning money against their college education, if I had told you that, you might not have believed it, but that is the record of this Congress. That's exactly what they've done in just 20 months, and the American people need to know it. And when they do, they will reward them for having done it.

Now, if I had said, while we weren't doing those other things, we broke 7 years of gridlock and passed the family and medical leave law so people can have a little time off from work when their kids are born or when their parents are sick without losing their jobs; 7 years of gridlock and passed the Brady bill; 6 years of gridlock and passed a crime bill that had, almost to the specifics, everything I recommended in the campaign of 1992: 100,000 more police on the street—there are only 550,000 of them there today—100,000 more police on the street, 100,000 more prison cells for violent criminals, prevention programs to give kids something to say yes to, drug treatment, drug education programs, alternative punishments for first offenders like drug courts and boot camps, if I had told you all that, and I said, "Oh, by the way, we're going to ban juvenile ownership of handguns" and nobody thinks that anybody can ever beat the NRA in the Congress, but we will actually pass an assault weapons ban, if I had said that, you would have said, "Nice try, but it's another bunch of political promises." That is exactly the record of this Congress and this administration in the last 20 months.

And let me say again, we did this by making the Government smaller. Our White House is the most active in a generation. We cut the White House staff when I came in office to set an example. We are cutting the Federal bureaucracy over 6 years by 272,000 people and giving every last red cent of the money back to communities to pay for the crime bill. We have really reinvented the Government. The other guys always talked about the terrible Federal bureaucracy.

When I became President, the most unpopular agency in the Federal Government was the Emergency Management Agency because every time there was a disaster, they made it worse. *[Laughter]* It is now the most popular agency in Federal Government because I appointed somebody to run it who'd actually dealt with disasters before. And you can talk to the people in California, the people in the Middle West, the people in the Southeast, everybody who's dealt with it.

They're supposed to be the party of small business. Now, because I've put somebody in the Small Business Administration who

had actually spent 20 years starting small businesses instead of losing elections, which is how it's usually filled, you can now go to the SBA and fill out—if you want a loan, you fill out a one-page form, and you get an answer, yes or no, in 3 days. That is stuff they talked about, but we did.

And I could give you lots of other examples. Vic's from California. When they had that earthquake in southern California and the busiest highway in America was shattered, right, what did we do? We had an innovative contract out there. We said, "If you can beat the deadline and you will work around the clock 7 days a week, we'll give you a premium." And we beat the deadline by more than half of what they said it would take to finish it. We opened it months early, the highway. The American people who have to ride on that road in California know that we are delivering.

So this is a very different image, right, than you hear when our adversaries talk about this administration. And while we were doing all this, we made a remarkable partnership for democracy and economic growth with Russia. We've worked with them as the Russian troops have been withdrawn from the Baltics and Eastern Europe for the first time since World War II. We've got 21 new nations in a new security partnership with NATO, trying to unite Europe for the first time since nation states have existed there. We are working with the Irish and the British on peace in Northern Ireland. We worked to help conduct free and fair elections that produced Nelson Mandela's miraculous victory in South Africa. We have worked hard to make dramatic steps forward on peace in the Middle East and, I believe, in what we are doing tonight in Haiti.

Now, that is the record of the last 20 months. Do we have a lot of work to do? Sure, we do. We've still got a lot of things we could do back in Washington now: pass the GATT worldwide trade agreement, pass campaign finance reform, pass the lobby reform bill. There's a whole spate of environmental legislation still waiting to be passed in the Congress right now. And I will never give up until we have finally joined the ranks of other nations and found a way to provide health care to all Americans and to bring the

cost in line with inflation, because if we don't do that the deficit will start to go up again, and being in Congress will be a matter of writing health care checks for the same old health care with no money to invest in America's future.

Yes, there is work to do. But the fact is, the economy is stronger, the deficit is lower, taxes are fairer, trade is greater, working families and communities have a chance to be secure and safer. That is the record of this Congress and this administration in the last 20 months. The American people don't know it, but thanks to your help, they will by election day, and the results will be there.

Now, you might ask, "Well, Mr. President, If you're so smart, why don't they know it?" First of all, many people—let's deal with the real world—many people have not felt these changes in their own lives. When they have, I can tell you who they're voting for. When a person come up to me and says, "I have doubled my business in international trade; thank you. I never thought I'd be a Democrat, but I am now." And a man in the White House came up to me on a Sunday morning several months ago and he was going through a tour, which is very unusual on Sunday morning, with his three children, and I noticed one was in a wheelchair. This man came up and grabbed me and he said, "I want to tell you something. My little girl here is sick, and she's probably not going to live. And her wish was to see the White House. But because of that family leave law, which your predecessor vetoed twice, I can take time off from work and spend this precious time with my daughter without losing my job and hurting my other children and my wife. Don't you ever think what you do up here does not make a difference; it does." But most people haven't felt it.

And look at the problems of the country. We have social problems that we have had now developing for 30 years, the crime, the drugs, the family breakdown. We have economic problems that working people feel in the form of stagnant wages and fragile benefits that have been developing for 20 years. We had a political climate that said that the Government would mess up a one-car parade, that Democrats were aliens, and that tried to divide us and frighten us for 12 years.

We've just been here 20 months, folks, but we are going in the right direction. And the thing that we must not permit to happen is to have the American people, out of their frustration and out of our failure to tell them what we've done, vote for that which they are against. That is why your presence here is important tonight.

Also, let's face it, the guys we're running against are good at talking. And they have a simple system: rule or ruin. They've not much interest in doing. So they're not only good at talking, they've got more time to work on it than we do. We show up for work every day; they show up for talk. You think I'm kidding? Every single Member of the other party in Congress, every last one, voted against that economic program. And you say, "Well, maybe they just didn't like it." No, no, no, no, I was told the first week I was President by one of the Republican leaders that there would not be a single vote for the economic program, no matter how we changed it. He said, "We want to be in a position to blame you if it doesn't work. And if it doesn't work, we'll still blame you, and we'll convince people that you taxed them even if you didn't." That's what I was told the first week I showed up.

So when we gave the 15 million working people a tax break, every one of them said no. When we made 90 percent of small businesses—supposed to be their constituents—when we made 90 percent of them eligible for a tax break, every one of them said no. When we gave 20 million Americans a break on their college loans and all the middle class kids to come, not just poor kids, middle class kids, every one of them voted no, every single one of them. When we made the first big cut in the size of the Federal Government in three decades, every one of them voted no. George Mitchell, our Democratic leader, said that if you took the word no out of their vocabulary, a bunch of them would be stone mute. [*Laughter*]

Then, we moved to the crime bill. When we banned assault weapons, passed a dramatic bill to deal with the problems of violence against women and children in the homes, passed a bill that protected the rights of victims in the criminal justice process, put 100,000 more police on the street, put

100,000 more prison cells out there, toughened the penalties, all their leaders and most of them voted no. And the ones that didn't were absolutely excoriated for putting their country ahead of their party.

Now, these are facts. When I showed up in Washington, I really believed that we would be able to do what we did with just a few Republicans on the crime bill and more on trade. I thought we would be able to have a more nonpartisan or bipartisan spirit of governance because so many of these problems are new problems. They don't fit within the proper categories of Democrat and Republican that you could tell right off in the twenties, fifties, or sixties, well, who would vote which way. These are new and different problems. So I said to myself, I will reach out to them. But I already gave you one example. On the budget bill they told me in advance.

On the crime bill, let me tell you what happened. Last year the Senate passed the crime bill with the assault weapons ban and a vote among the Republicans was 42-to-2 for the crime bill. My ratings in the polls were high at the time. It was a long way from the election at the time, and they never dreamed the House would pass the ban on assault weapons because they knew they'd have to vote on it separately. Lo and behold, the House, stunning me, passed it by two votes. I thought that the NRA would beat us like a yard dog in the House on that. Lo and behold, they passed. So the bill goes to conference. And it comes out, and then all of a sudden they start making all these speeches about pork.

Let me tell you something, when the Senate passed the bill, it was 4½ years long. When we passed it, it was 6 years long. We put more money in it for 100,000 instead of 50,000 police and a little more money in it for prisons, but the prevention programs were actually slightly higher on an annual basis in the bill the Republicans voted for 42-to-2 than they were in the bill they voted against 6-to-38. Nothing had changed except the politics. In their conference, they were told our job is not to lower the crime rate and make the American people more secure. Our job is to stiff anything that the other party and that administration tries to do.

I'll give you a third example: health care. When I introduced our health care bill, I said, "Look, this may not be a perfect bill. It's the best I can do. But what we ought to do is do what other sensible countries have done. We ought to find a way to cover everybody in a way that brings cost more in line with inflation. And we ought to do it by keeping the system as private as possible, private health care providers. And I don't want to eliminate private health insurance, and this is my idea." I was so happy; there was a bill introduced in the Senate by 24 Republican Senators that did the same thing, provided coverage for everybody and controlled costs, universal coverage and cost control. It wasn't the way I would have done it, but I was elated. I thought, this is what I came to Washington to do. We're going to have a debate, and they'll say, you know, they'll characterize my plan unfairly, they'll brag on theirs, and we'll get together and work it out. We'll solve this problem for the American people and everybody will share the credit. By the time our bill got to the floor, do you know how many Republican Senators were left on that bill to provide universal coverage? Zero. Not a single solitary one. Why? Politics. One of them was quoted in your local paper here the other day saying, "Well, we killed health care. Now the trick is not to have our fingerprints on it."

I just gave you a list of all those things that are back in Washington awaiting action. In the House where all these folks work, you can't delay action. We may or may not get any of those things voted on now because for the first time in the history of the Republic, never has this happened before, ever. The Republican Senators are requiring the Democratic majority to jump through procedural hoops that take 30 hours just to get a vote on procedural things to take up bills. And then when they run through this exhausting 30 hours, half of them jump on the bandwagon and vote for it so they won't get caught doing what they did.

It has never happened before, ever. Those are just four examples. I'm telling you, I came here running, saying the Democrats had problems, too, we had to change the partisan environment. But I want the American people to know that the no-sayers in this

crowd are the leaders of the Republicans in Congress.

There are a lot of good Republicans in the Congress that would like to work with us on a lot of issues, and most of the time they are threatened with their very lives. You see the Congressman from Iowa was threatened; he was told, under no circumstances could he cooperate with any of us on health care.

Now, the American people need to know that. Why? Because this is a time of change. We're moving away from the cold war into a new era. I am convinced the 21st century can be the best time this country ever had. I believe that. But we have to be able to face our challenges in an open and honest way. We have to be able to make change our friend, and that requires a certain level of security.

And all the American people here with this sort of partisan, negative stuff pounding on them day in and day out, they do not know what we have done. We haven't had time to talk, we've been busy doing. So we're going to go out now and talk. But if you think about your organization, whatever it is, we live on people-power today. And people-power depends on spirit as well as it does brains. You cannot get anything done in a world where people determine the course of history unless people are in a good frame of mind. You think about whatever it is you do and wherever it is you work and how well would you do if two-thirds of the people showed up every day convinced what you were doing was in the wrong direction and nothing good could ever happen; they were in a deep funk. Wouldn't be very pleasant to go to work, would it?

That is what our political adversaries actually try to create every day in the minds of the American people. They say no; they play on their fears; they try to turn us into aliens. And frankly, they do a very good job at it. And when we can't get out there and talk to them, they do it. But the bad thing is not what happens to me or whether I get re-elected or Vic gets reelected. In the big line of history, that's not as important as whether the American people face the future with confidence and hope and are willing to take on their challenges and are willing to find

strength in our diversity. That is what we have to do.

And I am telling you, that's what this election is all about. It's not about seats in Congress and everything else, except as they reflect whether we are going into the future with fear or hope. If you think about this time in our history, it's most like the times at the ends of the wars. At the end of the First World War, the American people were tired, distracted, they got inward looking. They said, "We're just going to walk away from everything." What happened? We elected three Presidents, starting with Mr. Harding who promised us normalcy, whatever that is. What was normalcy? Normalcy was the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the Red Scare, and a global depression.

Then at the end of the Second World War, Harry Truman found himself as President. He was at 80 percent approval in the polls the day after he dropped the atomic bomb that ended the war. Two years later, when he sent national health reform to Congress for the second time, he was at 36 percent in the polls. Why? He was an instrument of change, and it was disruptive to the established order of things. But, he said, "We've got to rebuild Japan and Germany and rebuild Europe and have international mechanisms for growth." He carried through on Roosevelt's vision of the United Nations where I will speak tomorrow. He said, "We have to stand up to the Communist threat and limit it, and we have to rebuild America at home." And it required change, and it was difficult and uncomfortable. But when he finally got out there on that train and told the American people the truth, they stuck with him. And now most people think Harry Truman ought to be on Mt. Rushmore.

But I'll tell you something. I come from a family that was for him when he was living, and it wasn't so simple back then. Because when countries go through periods of change, they are just like people. You think about every period of change you've been through in your life, when you went off to college, when you got married, when you had your first child, when you took your first job, when you started your first business, every period of change is marked by hope and fear, isn't it? And when you're going through the

change as opposed to the beginning or the end of it, when you're going through it, every day you wake up and it's like there are these scales inside, and some days hopes win and some days fears win. Right? In your personal life.

That is what our country is going through today. And all these dire predictions about the election and all these polls showing how sour and frustrated the American people are. Let me tell you something, the people of this country are good people. And if you give them a chance, they will do the right thing 99 times out of 100. And they desperately want to believe in the future of this country, but they have been bombarded with everything that's wrong. They have not heard what is right. And there are real objective problems still out there. Our job is not always to win but to be the party of hope over fear, to be the party of big over little, to be the party of change over the status quo, to be the party of the children's future, not yesterday's vision. And I believe, since this is a time of change, that also in the end is the right thing to do politically, the right thing to do morally for our kids and their future is the right thing to do politically.

And I want you to look around this room. Every Member of this Congress that's here, there were bills that we won by one vote, by two votes, bills that passed by the narrowest of margins. They deserve credit for stepping up to the plate in voting for the future of this country and for our children instead of for that momentary interest, and they deserve to be rewarded in this election.

And if you want the changes for this country to continue until all Americans feel them, then I ask you not to quit with your check tonight but to keep speaking for them and working for them and talking to your friends and getting them to help all the way until election day because they are about the future of this country.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Representative Vic Fazio, chairman, and his wife, Judy, finance director, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee; Sumner Redstone, chairman, Viacom, and his wife, Phyllis. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the 49th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City

September 26, 1994

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates. First, let me congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as president of the 49th General Assembly. The American people look forward to working with you to celebrate the United Nations 50th anniversary.

We meet today in a time of great hope and change. The end of the cold war, the explosion of technology and trade and enterprise have given people the world over new opportunities to live up to their dreams and their God-given potential. This is an age of hope.

Yet, in this new world, we face a contest as old as history, a struggle between freedom and tyranny, between tolerance and bigotry, between knowledge and ignorance, between openness and isolation. It is a fight between those who would build free societies governed by laws and those who would impose their will by force. Our struggle today, in a world more high-tech, more fast-moving, more chaotically diverse than ever, is the age-old fight between hope and fear.

Three times in this century, from the trenches of the Sommes to the island of Iwo Jima to the shattered wall of Berlin, the forces of hope were victorious. But the victors of World War I squandered their triumph when they turned inward, bringing on a global depression and allowing fascism to rise and reigniting global war.

After World War II, the Allies learned the lessons of the past. In the face of a new totalitarian threat and the nuclear menace, great nations did not walk away from the challenge of the moment. Instead they chose to reach out, to rebuild, and to lead. They chose to create the United Nations, and they left us a world stronger, safer, and freer.

Our generation has a difficult task: The cold war is over; we must secure the peace. It falls to us to avoid the complacency that followed World War I without the spur of

the imminent threat to our security that followed World War II. We must ensure that those who fought and found the courage to end the cold war, those from both East and West who love freedom, did not labor in vain.

Our sacred mission is to build a new world for our children, more democratic, more prosperous, more free of ancient hatreds and modern means of destruction. That is no easy challenge, but we accept it with confidence. After all, the walls that once divided nations in this very chamber have come down. More nations have chosen democracy than ever before, more have chosen free markets and economic justice, more have embraced the values of tolerance and liberty and civil society that allow us all to make the most of our life.

But while the ideals of democracy and free markets are ascendant, they are surely not the whole story. Terrible examples of chaos, repression, and tyranny also mark our times. The 20th century proved that the forces of freedom and democracy can endure against great odds. Our job is to see that in the 21st century these forces triumph.

The dangers we face are less stark and more diffuse than those of the cold war, but they are still formidable: the ethnic conflicts that drive millions from their homes; the despots ready to repress their own people or conquer their neighbors; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; the terrorists wielding their deadly arms; the criminal syndicates selling those arms or drugs or infiltrating the very institutions of fragile democracy; a global economy that offers great promise but also deep insecurity and, in many places, declining opportunity; diseases like AIDS that threaten to decimate nations; the combined dangers of population explosion and economic decline which prompted the world community to reach the remarkable consensus at the Cairo conference; global and local environmental threats that demand that sustainable development becomes a part of the lives of people all around the world; and finally, within many of our nations, high rates of drug abuse and crime and family breakdown with all their terrible consequences. These are the dangers we face today.

We must address these threats to our future. Thankfully, the end of the cold war gives us a chance to address them together. In our efforts, different nations may be active in different situations in different ways. But their purposes must be consistent with freedom and their practices consistent with international law.

Each nation will bring to our common task its own particular strengths, economic, political, or military. Of course, the first duty of every member of the United Nations is to its own citizens, to their security, their welfare, and their interests. As President of the United States, my first duty is to the citizens of my country. When our national security interests are threatened, we will act with others when we can but alone if we must. We will use diplomacy when we can but force if we must.

The United States recognizes that we also have a special responsibility in these common endeavors that we are taking, the responsibility that goes along with great power and also with our long history of democracy and freedom. But we seek to fulfill that responsibility in cooperation with other nations. Working together increases the impact and the legitimacy of each of our actions, and sharing the burdens lessens everyone's load. We have no desire to be the world's policemen, but we will do what we can to help civil societies emerge from the ashes of repression, to sustain fragile democracies and to add more free markets to the world and, of course, to restrain the destructive forces that threaten us all.

In every corner of the globe, from South Africa to Asia to Central and Eastern Europe to the Middle East and Latin America and now to a small island in the Caribbean, ordinary citizens are striving to build their own future. Promoting their cause is our generation's great opportunity, and we must do it together.

A coalition for democracy—it's good for America. Democracies, after all, are more likely to be stable, less likely to wage war. They strengthen civil society. They can provide people with the economic and political opportunities to build their futures in their own homes, not to flee their borders.

Our efforts to help build more democracies will make us all more secure, more prosperous, and more successful as we try to make this era of terrific change our friend and not our enemy.

In our Nation, as in all of your nations, there are many people who are understandably reluctant to undertake these efforts, because often the distances are great or the cultures are different. There are good reasons for the caution that people feel. Often, the chances of success or the costs are unclear. And of course, in every common endeavor there is always the potential for failure and often the risk of loss of life. And yet our people, as we have seen in the remarkable global response to the terrible crisis in Rwanda, genuinely want to help their neighbors around the world and want to make some effort in our common cause.

We have seen that progress can be made as well. The problem is deciding when we must respond and how we shall overcome our reluctance. This will never be easy; there are no simple formulas. All of us will make these decisions, in part, based on the distance of the problem from our shores or the interests of our Nation or the difference we think we can make or the cost required or the threat to our own citizens in the endeavor. Hard questions will remain and cannot be erased by some simple formula.

But we should have the confidence that these efforts can succeed, whether they are efforts to keep people alive in the face of terrible tragedy, as in Rwanda, or our efforts to avert a tragedy, as in the Horn of Africa, or our efforts to support processes that are literally changing the future of millions. History is on our side.

We should have confidence about this. Look at the march of freedom we have seen in just the last year alone. Who, a decade ago, would have dared predict the startling changes in South Africa, in the Middle East, in Ireland: the stunning triumph of democracy and majority rule; the redemption of the purpose of Nelson Mandela's life; the brave efforts of Israel and its Arab neighbors to build bridges of peace between their peoples; the earnest search by the people of Northern Ireland and Great Britain and Ireland to end centuries of division and decades of terror.

In each case, credit belongs to those nations' leaders and their courageous people. But in each instance, the United States and other nations were privileged to help in these causes.

The growth of cooperation between the United States and the Russian Federation also should give us all great cause for confidence. This is a partnership that is rooted in democracy, a partnership that is working, a partnership of not complete agreement but genuine mutual respect.

After so many years of nuclear terror, our two nations are taking dramatic steps to ease tensions around the world. For the first time since World War II, foreign troops do not occupy the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The Baltic nations are free. Russian and American missiles no longer target each other's people. Three of the four nuclear members of the former Soviet Union have agreed to remove all nuclear weapons from their soil. And we are working on agreements to halt production of fissile materials for nuclear explosives, to make dismantling of nuclear warheads transparent and irreversible, and to further reduce our nuclear weapons in delivery vehicles.

The United States and Russia also recognize that we must cooperate to control the emerging danger of terrorists who traffic in nuclear materials. To secure nuclear materials at their sources, we have agreed with Russia to stop plutonium production by the year 2000, to construct a storage facility for fissile materials and buying up stocks of weapons-grade fuel, and to combat the criminals who are trying to smuggle materials for nuclear explosives.

Our two nations and Germany have increased cooperation and engaged in joint terrorist training. Soon, under the leadership of our Federal Bureau of Investigation, we will open a law enforcement training academy in Europe, where police will learn how to combat more effectively trafficking of nuclear weapons components as well as the drug trade, organized crime, and money laundering.

The United States will also advance a wide-ranging nonproliferation agenda, a global convention to halt production of fissile materials, efforts to curb North Korea's nu-

clear ambitions, transparent procedures for dismantling nuclear warheads, and our work to ban testing and extend the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

And today I am proposing a first step toward the eventual elimination of a less-visible but still deadly threat: the world's 85 million antipersonnel land mines, one for every 50 people on the face of the Earth. I ask all nations to join with us and conclude an agreement to reduce the number and availability of those mines. Ridding the world of those often hidden weapons will help to save the lives of tens of thousands of men and women and innocent children in the years to come.

Our progress in the last year also provides confidence that in the post-cold-war years we can adapt and construct global institutions that will help to provide security and increase economic growth throughout the world.

Since I spoke here last year, 22 nations have joined NATO's Partnership For Peace. The first joint exercises have been conducted, helping to give Europe the chance to become a more unified continent in which democratic nations live in secure borders. In Asia, security talks and economic cooperation will lead to further stability. By reducing nations' fears about their borders and allowing them to spend less on military defenses, our coalition for democracy can give nations in transition a better chance to offer new freedoms and opportunities to their own people.

It is time that we think anew about the structure of this global economy as well, tearing down walls that separate nations instead of hiding behind them. At the Group of Seven meetings in Naples this year we committed ourselves to this task of renewal, to examining the economic institutions that have served us so well in the past. In the interest of shared prosperity, the United States actively promotes open markets. Though still in its infancy, the North American Free Trade Agreement has dramatically increased trade between the United States and Mexico, and has produced in the United States alone an estimated 200,000 new jobs. It offers a model to nations throughout the Americas which we hope to build on.

And this week, I will send legislation to the Congress to implement the General

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the largest trade agreement in all of history. GATT and its successor, the World Trade Organization, hold the promise for all of us of increased exports, higher wages, and improved living standards. And in the months and years to come, we will work to extend the realm of open markets, starting with the Asian-Pacific Cooperation Forum and the Summit of the Americas later this year.

Here, at the United Nations, we must develop a concrete plan to meet the challenges of the next 50 years, even as we celebrate the last 50 years. I believe we should declare next year's 50th anniversary not just a year of celebration, but a year of renewal. We call on the Secretary General to name a working group so that, by the time we meet next year, we will have a concrete action plan to revitalize the U.N.'s obligations to address the security, economic, and political challenges ahead, obligations we must all be willing to assume.

Our objectives should include ready, efficient, and capable U.N. peacekeeping forces. And I am happy to report that as I pledged to you last year, and thanks to the support in the United States Congress, \$1.2 billion is now available from the United States for this critical account.

We must also pledge to keep U.N. reform moving forward, so that we do more with less. And we must improve our ability to respond to urgent needs. Let me suggest that it is time for the members of this Assembly to consider seriously President Menem's suggestion for the creation of a civilian rapid response capability for humanitarian crises. And let us not lose sight of the special role that development and democracy can play in preventing conflicts once peace has been established.

Never before has the United Nations been in a better position to achieve the democratic goals of our Founders. The end of the cold war has freed us from decades of paralyzing divisions, and we all know that multilateral cooperation is not only necessary to address the new threats we face but possible to succeed.

The efforts we have taken together in Haiti are a prime example. Under the sponsorship of the United Nations, American troops, now

being joined by the personnel of an evergrowing international coalition of over two dozen nations, are giving the people of Haiti their chance at freedom. Creative diplomacy, the influence of economic power, the credible threat of military force, all have contributed to this moment of opportunity.

Essential civil order will be restored. Human rights violations will be curbed. The first refugees are returning within hours on this day. The military leaders will step down; the democratic government will be restored. President Aristide will return. The multinational mission will turn its responsibilities over to the United Nations mission, which will remain in Haiti throughout 1995 until a new President is elected. During this time, a multinational development effort will make available more than \$1 billion to begin helping the Haitians rebuild their country.

In the spirit of reconciliation and reconstruction, President Aristide called yesterday for the immediate easing of sanctions so that the work of rebuilding can begin immediately. Accordingly, I intend to act expeditiously within the Security Council Resolutions 917 and 940, to enable us to restore health care, water, and electrical services, construction materials for humanitarian efforts, and communications, agricultural, and educational materials.

Today I am also announcing that the United States will suspend all unilateral sanctions against Haiti except those that affect the military leaders and their immediate supporters. This will include regularly scheduled air flights when the air support becomes available, financial transactions, and travel restrictions. I urge all other nations to do the same.

In Haiti, the United States has demonstrated that it would lead a multinational force when our interests are plain, when the cause is right, when the mission is achievable, and the nations of the world stand with us. But Haiti's people will have to muster the strength and the patience to travel the road of freedom. They have to do this for themselves. Every new democratic nation is fragile, but we will see the day when the people of Haiti fulfill their aspirations for liberty and when they are once again making genuine economic progress.

United Nations actions in Bosnia, as those in Haiti, demonstrate that progress can be made when a coalition backs up diplomacy with military power. For the first time ever, NATO has taken, since we met last year, military actions beyond the territory of its members. The threat of NATO air power helped to establish the exclusion zone around Sarajevo and to end the Bosnian Serbs' spring offensive against Gorazde. And NATO's February ultimatum boosted our mediation efforts which helped to end the war between the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Croats and forged a federation between those two communities.

The situation in Bosnia, to that extent, has improved. But in recent weeks, the situation around Sarajevo has deteriorated substantially, and Sarajevo once again faces the prospect of strangulation. A new resolve by the United Nations to enforce its resolutions is now necessary to save Sarajevo. And NATO stands ready to act.

The situation in Bosnia is yet another reminder of the greatest irony of this century we are leaving: This century so full of hope and opportunity and achievement has also been an age of deep destruction and despair. We cannot help but remember the millions who gave their lives during two world wars and the half-century in struggle by men and women in the East and West who ultimately prevailed in the name of freedom. But we must also think of our children and the world we will leave them in the 21st century.

History has given us a very rare opportunity, the chance to build on the greatest legacy of this century without reliving its darkest moments. And we have shown that we can carry forward humanity's ancient quest for freedom, to build a world where democracy knows no borders but where nations know their borders will always be secure, a world that gives all people the chance to realize their potential and to live out their dreams.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at the United Nations Building. In his remarks, he referred to United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali; United Nations General Assembly President Amara Essy; and President Carlos Menem of Argentina. A tape was not available

for the verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Luncheon for Heads of State in New York City

September 26, 1994

Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished heads of state and government, your Excellencies, guests: First, I think I can speak for all of us in thanking the Secretary-General for his remarks, for his hospitality, and most important of all, for his very strong leadership of the United Nations.

Mr. Secretary-General, you have taken the ideas of peace, help, and security that are at the heart of the U.N.'s mission and worked hard to make them a reality. As the cold war has ended, the world has looked to the U.N. for even more assistance and leadership. You have met this challenge by effectively placing the U.N. at the forefront of international affairs. Your leadership has been particularly apparent in the improvements of the U.N.'s peacekeeping operations. There are now approximately 70,000 peacekeepers deployed around the world, some 5 times the number when you took office. Collaboration among nations is improving, and the operations are growing more efficient.

Your initiatives at the Cairo conference, your efforts to improve coordination of development assistance, the establishment of an independent inspector general and meaningful cost controls and your work to improve the U.N.'s field operations, all these are testaments to your outstanding leadership.

Above all, you have focused on the use of diplomacy to prevent bloodshed and conflict and on building the kinds of permanent institutions that lead to long-term stability within and, as you have so eloquently stated, among nations. For these things and more, all of us applaud you.

Today, opportunities abound to build a world in which democracy reigns. Respect for human rights is the rule. Political stability expands. Economic prosperity is shared by all. These things will not occur, however, unless we commit ourselves to a cooperative spirit unmatched in all human history. That is our challenge.

As leaders of member states, we must take responsibility for making the U.N. more responsive and more effective than it has ever been. Only in this way can the U.N. remain a positive force for change and a symbol of justice and hope for the world.

Mr. Secretary-General, you have kept our focus on building the kind of organization that can effectively turn our ideals into reality. We thank you for your vision.

As the United Nations approaches its 50th birthday, let us all pledge to continue to work together for the promise of a better tomorrow. And let us raise our glasses in toast to the Secretary-General and to that promise.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. at the United Nations Building.

Remarks at a Reception for Heads of State and United Nations Delegations in New York City

September 26, 1994

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary; and thank you, Ambassador Albright, and thank you for your outstanding leadership in the United Nations.

Most of what I have to say I have already said to the United Nations today. And we did not ask you to come here to listen to speeches, but simply to enjoy yourselves and to give us a chance to say thank you for your friendship to the United States and your cooperation with the United States.

I'm very glad to be here in one of our Nation's truly outstanding institutions, this magnificent museum, and particularly in this place. When I walked in, the Foreign Minister of Egypt rolled his eyes at me because here we are. I do want to say that I am here out of respect for Egyptian culture, not because I am a candidate for pharaoh.

I would just leave you with this one thought. We have an enormous opportunity today. Every day we get up and we read about all the problems we have in the world, and most of the discussions in the United Nations are focused on those problems. But the way that we talk about them is made possible because of the triumph of democracy, the triumph of freedom, the end of the cold war, the possibilities open to us by the global

spread of technology and enterprise and opportunity. And so I ask you all to maintain a very hopeful outlook. Even as we are careful and calculated about what we can do, and we don't reach into those things we cannot, let us look to the future with real confidence.

I feel very, very hopeful about the next 50 years for the United Nations, and especially about the next 10 years as we prepare the way for the 21st century, in which, as I said, I hope we will prove that freedom and democracy can not only endure but can actually triumph and change the lives of ordinary people all across the world.

Thank you very much and welcome.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:15 p.m. at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Statement on Health Care Reform Legislation

September 26, 1994

Today Senator George Mitchell reported that he sees no way to pass health care reform in this session of Congress. He and the bipartisan group of Senators have been doing their best. But he cannot find the 60 votes needed to overcome the Republican filibuster.

I am very sorry to say that this means Congress isn't going to reform health care this year. But we are not giving up on our mission to cover every American and to control health care costs.

When I addressed Congress a year ago, I said our journey to health care reform would have some rough spots in the road. Well, we've had a few. But this journey is far, far from over.

Some Republican leaders keep saying, "Let's put this off until next year." I am going to hold them to their word. We have reached out to Republicans, and we will continue to do that. But we are going to keep up the fight against the interests who spent \$300 million to stop health care reform. We will fight for campaign finance and lobby reform, so these special interests do not continue to obstruct vital legislation, and we will return to the fight for health care reform. There is too much at stake for all the American people,

and we have come too far to just walk away now.

Although we have not achieved our goal this year, Hillary and I are proud—and our allies should be proud as well—that we were able to bring this debate further than it has ever progressed before. For solid, smart, and important reasons, the ordinary working families of America expect their elected leaders to pass health care reform:

—If we don't act, the deficit we have worked so hard to contain will balloon again over time.

—And, most important, millions of Americans still won't be able to count on coverage when their families need it. Every month that we don't act, 100,000 more Americans will lose their coverage. They will join the 5 million Americans who lost theirs in the last 5 years.

For their sake, and for the sake of those who touched us during this great journey, we are going to keep up this fight and we will prevail.

Proclamation 6725—National Legal Services Week, 1994

September 26, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The preamble to the Constitution reminds us that our great Nation was founded "to establish Justice . . . and secure the Blessings of Liberty . . ." The very nature of justice demands that it be available to all. True justice cannot be rationed—it cannot be accorded to some while others are denied the full benefit of their rights. Our Founders understood that privilege and responsibility are inextricably linked. The words "Equal Justice under the Law," inscribed over the portal of our highest court, represent a solemn promise made to every American.

Twenty years ago, the Legal Services Corporation was created to help keep that promise, promoting equal access to justice by making high-quality legal assistance in civil matters available to those who would otherwise be unable to attain it.

In designing the Legal Services Corporation the Congress recognized the need for an independent entity, protected from political interference, to support local programs that would be accountable to their own communities. Legal Services was designed to ensure that all Americans needing assistance are provided with legal representatives whose responsibility is to fully protect and defend their clients' best interests according to the highest standards of professional obligation.

For two decades, the Legal Services Corporation has fulfilled that mandate. It supports local legal services programs that operate under the auspices of their own Boards of Directors, which are made up of clients and representatives of the local bar. Today, the Corporation supports 323 programs operating in over 900 neighborhood offices across the Nation. In addition, more than 130,000 private attorneys volunteer their time and energy toward activities associated with local legal services projects.

Legal Services programs extend assistance to more than 1.5 million people every year, vindicating their rights, resolving their disputes, and offering a means of improving their lives. Dedicated attorneys, paralegals, staff, Board members, and volunteers have worked with unflinching commitment, often under adverse conditions, to serve those whose rights and interests they represent. Legal Services has won the respect of the judiciary, the organized bar, and the client community. For many Americans, the existence of legal services has renewed their faith in our government of laws.

On the 20th anniversary of the Legal Services Corporation, I reaffirm our national commitment to equal access to justice, to decency, to fair play. I voice my deep respect for those who have given so much to keep those principles alive over the years.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of September 26 through October 2, 1994, as "National Legal Services Week." I urge all Americans to join me in recognizing the contributions that the Legal Services Corporation and

the local programs that it supports have made in fulfilling the promise of equal justice under the law, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:32 p.m., September 27, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on September 29.

Nomination for Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency *September 26, 1994*

The President announced today that he intends to nominate Fred Hansen to be the Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

"Through his accomplished State leadership, Fred Hansen brings real environmental expertise and commitment to this position," the President said. "I am confident that his service at the E.P.A. will be marked by the same excellence and leadership he has shown in Oregon as a long-time environmental leader there."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks Welcoming President Boris Yeltsin of Russia *September 27, 1994*

President and Mrs. Yeltsin, members of the Russian delegation, distinguished guests. On behalf of the American people, it is my great honor to welcome President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Mrs. Naina Yeltsin to Washington for this state visit.

Mr. President, it wasn't so long ago that Russian-American summits were moments of high drama and sometimes disappointing re-

sults. The people of our countries and from around the world watched nervously as their leaders met in a heavy atmosphere of mutual suspicion and fear. The fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance of those encounters. And success was defined as the avoidance of confrontation or crisis.

Our moment is quite different but no less important. For these are exciting times, times of great opportunity. And we are cooperating to seize them for the good of all Russians, all Americans, and all the people of the world.

Today we meet not as adversaries but as partners in the quest for a more prosperous and a more peaceful planet. In so many areas, our interests no longer conflict, they coincide. And where we do disagree, we can discuss our differences in a climate of warm peace, not cold war.

The Russian-American relationship is at last, remarkably, a normal one, full of real accomplishments and genuine promise. Mr. President, this evolution in our relations is due in no small part to the peaceful revolution you are leading in Russia, one that the United States has fully supported. Your steadfastness and courage in the face of difficult odds have inspired millions of Americans.

And you have proved the pessimists wrong. Far from falling backward, Russia, under your leadership, is coming together and moving forward. Your efforts, of course, could not be successful if you did not have the support of a great and courageous people. Here in America, we have known the trials and tribulations of history, but the Russian people have survived invasions and wars, deprivation and dictatorship. And through it all, the Russians have endured, producing uplifting poetry and songs, great novels and films, ingenious science and path-breaking technology. Now, the free and open society you are building will allow the Russian people finally to reach their full potential. Russia's greatest hours lie before her.

Mr. President, we are privileged to share a great moment, an historic opportunity. When we met in Vancouver over 18 months ago, and again in Moscow last January, we vowed to seize that opportunity by creating and building upon a new partnership be-

tween our two nations, a partnership that works. And we have kept that commitment.

As a result, our missiles no longer target each other's people for destruction; instead they are being dismantled. Our soldiers no longer face each other as deadly adversaries; instead, they work together as partners for peace. Young Russians and Americans no longer learn to be fearful and mistrustful of each other; instead they study together in record numbers. Trade between our countries is no longer stifled by export controls and prohibitions; instead, it is growing every day to the benefit of both our peoples.

In short, our nations are growing closer together, replacing suspicion and fear with trust and cooperation. Mr. President, this summit of ours, unlike its predecessors, is about the future, a future in which we will strive to integrate Russia and the West, to build a new century of peace in Europe, and the future of shared responsibility that comes with vast territory, large populations, great power, and democratic values to use our combined influence and authority for the good of the world beyond our borders.

Together, we have agreed to safeguard nuclear materials and to shut down plutonium production reactors. Together, with Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus, we will rid your region of thousands of nuclear warheads. Together, we must ensure that all the new independent states achieve their rightful place as strong and independent nations in Europe, able to chart their own destinies. For that reason, all Americans rejoiced and deeply respected your decision to withdraw your troops from the Baltic nations.

Together, we are working to bring peace to Bosnia, to the Middle East, to Nagorno-Karabakh. Together, we will build an international space station and explore the solar system. Together, we will carry the fight against transnational problems, like terrorism, environmental degradation, and organized crime. Together, we can and we will make a difference not only for our own people but also for men, women, and children all around the world.

Mr. President, it is an honor to have you with us. Together, we have done well in laying the foundation of trust and security be-

tween our two peoples. Now, let us build on it to secure a future of peace.

Welcome to the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Yeltsin of Russia and an Exchange With Reporters

September 27, 1994

President Clinton. Well, let me say before you start that this is a very important meeting for both of us and for our country as we're looking forward to having the opportunity to discuss a lot of things, particularly issues relating to the remaining nuclear matters we're trying to resolve between us, and a lot of our mutual concerns about organized crime, which I think will take a good deal of work over the years ahead. As you know, the FBI Director has already been to Moscow, and we're working closely on that. So we're looking forward to the meeting.

Bosnia

Q. President Yeltsin, can we ask you, if Congress forces the President, and he has promised he will do this, to lift the arms embargo if the Serbs don't comply, what will be your response if the United States lifts the arms embargo and lets the Bosnian Muslims arm themselves?

President Yeltsin. My response would be negative, of course. But we will discuss this issue with the President of the United States.

Q. Mr. President, do you want to comment? Do you want to comment on what you think can be accomplished?

President Clinton. Well, as you know, the—at least for the moment, this may be a largely academic discussion for two reasons. One is, the legislation now pending commits me to pursue a multinational, multilateral lifting of the embargo through the U.N., and we received word just in the last couple of days from the Bosnian Government that they may be interested in deferring any action on that for 4 to 6 months. It's something they brought to us, so we're all working through that.

I think the most important thing is we have to keep pressing the Bosnian Serbs to end the conflict, to accept the Contact Group's proposal. And I want to emphasize that the United States and Russia have worked very closely together on Bosnia to this point. We have been together every step of the way. We're going to do our best to stay together.

Q. Haven't they stopped you from further air strikes? Haven't they opposed some of your policies?

President Yeltsin. Very impressive. [Laughter]

President Clinton. That's very impressive, right?

Q. It's my job.

President Clinton. She does it well. She does it well. [Laughter]

[At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.]

President Yeltsin's First Visit

Q. Mr. President, do you remember your first meeting with President Yeltsin 2 years ago in Blair House here in Washington?

President Clinton. Yes, I do. I remember it well. We had a fine visit. It was more than 2 years ago, I think, wasn't it?

Q. Yes, it was in June.

President Clinton. Yes, that was before I had even been nominated for President formally. I remember it well. He was very kind to receive me. You know, then as I remember, I was running third in the polls, and no one thought I would be elected President. So I was very pleased that he saw me. And we got off to a good start.

Russia-U.S. Partnership

Q. You say that the main task is unification of the West and Russia, and at the same time you want to be closer—you want to broaden NATO. Don't you see that there's a contradiction in that?

President Clinton. We're going to discuss all those things. We've made a remarkable partnership, and I think it's been based on real mutual respect for the interests of each other and for our shared goals in the world. And I believe we can continue that partnership. We're going to work at it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks Honoring Russian and American Veterans of World War II
September 27, 1994

President Yeltsin, Mrs. Yeltsin, members of the Russian and American delegations. We say a special word of welcome to the Red Star Red Army Band that has come all the way from Russia to be with our Marine Band today. To the Members of Congress who are here, honored veterans, distinguished guests: We welcome you all to the White House.

We gather to celebrate the bonds between the Russian people and the American people forged during World War II. And we gather to pledge that the opportunity we lost five decades ago to build a better world will not be lost again.

A half century ago, half a world away, brave men and women from our nations fought as allies for a common cause and an uncommon sacrifice. In April 1945, as the greatest war of this century drew to a close, they embraced on the banks of the Elbe River. Their meeting held the promise not only of the war's end but also of an enduring peace that sadly was deferred for decades. Today, we honor the Russian and American veterans who risked their lives, and sometimes gave their lives, to defeat that tyranny.

We are deeply honored to have some of those veterans here with us at the White House. Theirs was a partnership on land, air, and sea but also in heart, mind, and spirit.

To our children, their stories sound like the stuff of novels and movies, but they are real. Some American heroes helped win the war not by fighting on the front lines but by ferrying tons of supplies to Russia, everything from boots to locomotives. It was very dangerous work. Fifty years ago this week, the Liberty Ship, S.S. *Edward H. Crockett*, carrying 68 members of the Merchant Marine and the Naval Armed Guard, left the Russian port of Archangel to return home. Fifty years ago to the day on Thursday, it was torpedoed by the enemy and sank in the icy Bering Sea. Miraculously, most of the

crew survived. Six of those survivors are here with us today, and we welcome them. [*Applause*]

In the deserts of Iran, thousands of American soldiers delivered gasoline and munitions to Russian units. Many, like Robert Patterson drove in heat so intense that the steering wheels of their trucks burned their bare hands. And American nurses, like Anna Connelly Wilson, tended to the wounded in primitive field hospitals with no blankets or running water.

In 1944, Joseph Beyrle parachuted into France with the 101st Airborne Division only to be captured and taken to a prison camp in Germany. But he escaped, joined advancing Russian troops, and fought as a member of a Russian army unit as it drove toward Berlin.

While manning a Russian tank gun, Joseph Beyrle was wounded, but Russian doctors saved his life. I'm especially grateful to them because Joseph survived the war and went on to have a son. His son, John Beyrle, works here at the White House as one of my advisers on Russian affairs. I'd like to ask them both to stand and be recognized here: the Beyrles. Thank you, Mr. Beyrle, thank you. [*Applause*]

We're also joined today by Russian veterans of the war, including Alexandr Olshansky. Then a young corporal, he was one of the Russians who went, who met American troops at the Elbe River. Now, he is a major general in the Russian army. In a few minutes, I will be honored to present to Major General Olshansky, as the Russian veterans' representative, a medal commemorating our wartime partnership.

Let us now pause for a moment to applaud all the Russian and American veterans of World War II who are here today. [*Applause*] Each of their stories, in different ways, teaches the same lesson. Once before, Russians and Americans shared a just cause and prevailed. Today we are partners in peace, not war. Now we have a responsibility to work together for our own good and for the good of the world beyond our borders.

Two men symbolize the renewed bond between Russians and Americans: Ambassador Malcolm Toon and General Dimitri Volkogonov. World War II veterans both,

they are the cochairmen of the U.S.-Russian Joint Commission on POW's/MIA's. They spent the last 2½ years on a mission to account for U.S. servicemen missing from the Second World War, the cold war, and the conflicts in Korea and Vietnam and for Russian soldiers missing in Afghanistan.

President Yeltsin, you first proposed this Commission. It has become an important part of our bilateral relationship. The recent repatriation of the remains of U.S. Air Force Captain John Dunham is an example of your commitment to this Commission's work.

Our feelings today are perhaps best expressed by the great Russian poet Yevtushenko. He wrote with great emotion in words that many Russian citizens know by heart, "We remember those who joined us in battle, who embraced us at the Elbe River. And we are faithful to this memory."

To the veterans of our two great nations, we say thank you for the inspiration of your example. We will learn from it, from your courage and your sacrifice. And we vow, finally, to redeem the promise of that embrace at the Elbe.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:26 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Proclamation 6726—Placing Into Full Force and Effect the Compact of Free Association With the Republic of Palau

September 27, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Since July 18, 1947, the United States has administered the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands ("Trust Territory"), which has included the Northern Mariana Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau.

On November 3, 1986, a Covenant between the United States and the Northern Mariana Islands came into force. This Covenant established the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands as a self-governing

Commonwealth in political union with and under the sovereignty of the United States.

On October 21, 1986, in the case of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and on November 3, 1986, in the case of the Federated States of Micronesia, Compacts of Free Association with the United States became effective. Under the Compacts, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands became self-governing sovereign states, in free association with the United States. Following the changes in political status of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia, the Trusteeship Agreement ceased to be applicable to those entities and only Palau remained as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

On January 10, 1986, the Government of the United States and the Government of Palau concluded a Compact of Free Association similar to those that the United States entered into with the Republic of the Marshall Islands and with the Federated States of Micronesia. As in those instances, it was specified that the Compact with Palau would come into effect upon (1) mutual agreement between the Government of the United States, acting in fulfillment of its responsibilities as Administering Authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Government of Palau; (2) the approval of the Compact by the two Governments, in accordance with their constitutional processes; and (3) the approval of the Compact by plebiscite in Palau.

In Palau the Compact has been approved by the Government in accordance with its constitutional processes and by a United Nations-observed plebiscite on November 9, 1993, a sovereign act of self-determination. In the United States the Compact was approved by Public Law 99-658 of November 14, 1986, and Public Law 101-219 of December 12, 1989.

On May 25, 1994, the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations concluded that the Government of the United States had satisfactorily discharged its obligations as the Administering Authority under the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement and that the people of Palau had freely exercised their right to self-determination and considered that it was

appropriate for the Trusteeship Agreement to be terminated. The Council asked the United States to consult with the Government of Palau and to agree on a date, on or about October 1, 1994, for entry into force of their new status agreement.

On July 15, 1994, the Government of the United States and the Government of the Republic of Palau agreed, pursuant to section 411 of the Compact of Free Association, that as between the United States and the Republic of Palau, the effective date of the Compact shall be October 1, 1994.

As of this day, September 27, 1994, the United States has fulfilled its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement with respect to the Republic of Palau. On October 1, 1994, the Compact will enter into force between the United States and the Republic of Palau, and Palau will thereafter be self-governing and no longer subject to the Trusteeship. In taking these actions, the United States is implementing the freely expressed wishes of the people of Palau.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including sections 101 and 102 of the Joint Resolution to approve the "Compact of Free Association" between the United States and the Government of Palau, and for other purposes, approved on November 14, 1986 (Public Law 99-658), and section 101 of the Joint Resolution to authorize entry into force of the Compact of Free Association between the United States and the Government of Palau, and for other purposes, approved on December 12, 1989 (Public Law 101-219), and pursuant to section 1002 of the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America, and consistent with sections 101 and 102 of the Joint Resolution to approve the "Compact of Free Association" and for other purposes, approved on January 14, 1986 (Public Law 99-239), do hereby find, declare, and proclaim as follows:

Section 1. I determine that the Trusteeship Agreement for the Pacific Islands will be no longer in effect with respect to the Republic of Palau as of October 1, 1994, at

one minute past one o'clock p.m. local time in Palau. This constitutes the determination referred to in section 1002 of the Covenant with the Northern Mariana Islands (Public Law 94-241).

Sec. 2. The Compact of Free Association with the Republic of Palau will be in full force and effect as of October 1, 1994, at one minute past one o'clock p.m. local time in Palau.

Sec. 3. I am gratified that the people of the Republic of Palau, after 47 years of Trusteeship, have freely chosen to establish a relationship of Free Association with the United States.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:12 a.m., September 28, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on September 29.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Compact of Free Association With the Republic of Palau *September 27, 1994*

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)
(Dear Mr. Chairmen:)

In my letter of July 26, 1994, I reported that the voters of Palau had approved the Compact of Free Association with the United States, opening the way, 7 years after its approval by the Congress, for the Compact to be brought into force.

Along with my letter, in accordance with section 101 of the Compact of Free Association with Palau Act, Public Law 101-219 (December 12, 1989), section 101(d)(1)(C) and (2) of the Compact of Free Association Approval Act, Public Law 99-658 (November 14, 1986), and section 102(b) of the Compact of Free Association Act of 1985, Public Law 99-239 (January 14, 1986), I submitted the Economic Development Plan of the Republic of Palau, copies of certain sub-

sidary agreements between the United States and Palau, and an agreement between Palau and the United States establishing October 1, 1994, as the effective date for the Compact, provided that all lawsuits in Palau challenging approval of the Compact had been resolved by that date.

I have been advised by the Government of Palau that approval of the Compact is now free from any legal challenge in the courts of Palau and that the time for filing additional challenges has expired. Therefore, in addition to the findings and determinations that I reported in my July 26 letter, I am pleased to advise you that:

1. Pursuant to section 101(1) of Public Law 101-219, I have determined that the Compact was approved by the requisite percentage of votes cast in a referendum conducted pursuant to the Constitution of Palau and that such approval is free from any legal challenge.

2. Pursuant to section 101(2) of Public Law 101-219, the requisite 30 days in which either the House of Representatives or the Senate of the United States was in session have elapsed since my July 26 notification to the Congress of the October 1, 1994, effective date of the Compact.

3. Pursuant to section 101(d)(1)(A) of Public Law 99-658, I hereby certify that the Compact has been approved in accordance with section 411(a) and (b) of the Compact and that there exists no legal impediment to the ability of the United States to carry out fully its responsibilities and to exercise its rights under Title Three of the Compact.

4. Agreements have been concluded with Palau that satisfy the requirements of section 101(d)(1)(C) of Public Law 99-658.

5. The period of congressional review provided in section 102(b)(2)(B) of Public Law 99-239 having elapsed, the United States hereby concurs with Palau's Economic Development Plan.

Therefore, all statutory conditions for implementation of the Compact having been met, I have issued the attached proclamation terminating the trust relationship between the United States and Palau and the entry into force of the Compact of Free Association between the United States and the Republic of Palau, effective October 1, 1994,

at one minute past one o'clock p.m. local time in Palau.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate; Claiborne Pell, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; J. Bennett Johnston, chairman, Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources; Lee H. Hamilton, chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs; and George Miller, chairman, House Committee on Natural Resources.

Proclamation 6727—Energy Awareness Month, 1994

September 27, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

We have become increasingly aware in recent decades that our sources of energy are finite. America's economy continues to expand, generating new jobs, increased production, and an even higher demand for energy. At the same time, the changing needs of our people and the fragile nature of our environment teach us that we must use our resources wisely. The long-term health of our Nation and of our world require that we continually reexamine the ways we produce and consume energy.

As we celebrate Energy Awareness Month this year, the United States is leading the world in that effort, improving energy efficiency and exploring the possibilities of renewable resources. Through programs developed by both business and government, Americans are using energy in wiser and less costly ways. High technology applied to vehicles, appliances, and buildings has enabled us to save money, become less reliant on foreign imports, and protect our planet's precious natural resources. Yet much remains to be done.

The "Greening of the White House" initiative sets an important example. A cooperative project combining the best efforts of the public and private sectors, it utilizes the latest

technologies in lighting, heating, air conditioning, cooking, and refrigeration and serves as a model of progress for buildings across the country. This project will be a challenge to countries around the globe to protect the Earth's environment and to achieve sustainable economic growth.

The theme of Energy Awareness Month, 1994, "Energy—Our Future Is Today!" recognizes that we must view our energy consumption from the perspective of the generations to come. I encourage all Americans to join in this crucial mission to conserve Earth's resources for our children and grandchildren by participating in activities that further our understanding and appreciation of the energy issues we face. Our work today will help to safeguard the strength of our economy, the well-being of our citizens, and the unique beauty of our world.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim October 1994 as "Energy Awareness Month."

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:13 a.m., September 28, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on September 29.

Message to the Congress on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

September 27, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit legislation and a number of related documents to implement agreements resulting from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. The Uruguay Round Agreements are the broadest, most comprehensive trade

agreements in history. They are vital to our national interest and to economic growth, job creation, and an improved standard of living for all Americans.

When fully implemented, the Uruguay Round Agreements will add \$100-\$200 billion to the U.S. economy each year and create hundreds of thousands of new, well-paying American jobs. They provide for a reduction in worldwide tariffs of \$744 billion, the largest global tax cut in history.

The United States will be the biggest winner from the Uruguay Round Agreements. We are the world's largest trading nation with the world's most dynamic economy. In 1993, the United States exported \$660 billion in goods and services, accounting for more than 10 percent of the U.S. GDP.

These agreements are the result of bipartisan cooperation and reflect the consensus supporting market-opening trade policies that the United States has enjoyed for decades. The Uruguay Round was launched by President Reagan, continued by President Bush, and concluded by this Administration. Each Administration consulted with the Congress and welcomed congressional participation and guidance throughout the negotiations. Similarly, this Administration has worked closely with the Congress to ensure that the implementing legislation that I am now forwarding enjoys broad bipartisan support.

The United States has led the world on a path of open markets, freer trade, and economic growth. Now we must lead the way in implementing these agreements. The leaders of every major industrialized nation have pledged to take action so that the Uruguay Round Agreements can be implemented by January 1, 1995. Any delay on our part would send a negative signal to our trading partners at a time when their economies are just beginning to recover.

Our economic recovery is now fully underway. As the economies in Europe and Japan begin again to grow, we must be positioned to reap the benefits of their expansion. As a result of the Uruguay Round Agreements, our major trading partners in Europe and Asia will cut their tariffs to historic lows.

The Asian Pacific economies are the fastest growing economies in the world and are

currently the largest market for U.S. exports. United States exports to Latin America, the second fastest growing region in the world, have grown 60 percent since 1989. The Uruguay Round Agreements will ensure that these fast-growing markets will be open to international competition and that all of our trading partners will play by international trading rules.

The Uruguay Round Agreements enjoy very broad and deep support in the United States. Forty of our Nation's governors, numerous eminent economists, and the vast majority of U.S. industrial, agricultural, and services firms support the agreements, as do an array of former Presidents, Secretaries of State, Secretaries of the Treasury, and U.S. Trade Representatives.

Americans are at their best when they face the challenges of their time. Our predecessors did so after World War II when they created a new international trading system that guided global growth for 50 years. Now we must do the same to foster sustained prosperity for the decades to come.

The end of the Cold War and the rise of the global economy have created new challenges and new opportunities. Implementation of the Uruguay Round Agreements will ensure that we rise to the challenges of this new era and lead the world on a path of prosperity.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 27, 1994.

**Remarks at the Congressional
Hispanic Caucus Reception**
September 27, 1994

Thank you, Congressman Serrano, and to all my colleagues up here on the stage, and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and to Secretary Babbitt, Secretary and Mrs. Cisneros, Secretary and Mrs. Peña. I know the Attorney General is coming. I haven't seen her here, but I think she's here somewhere. And I thank her and all of them for serving our Cabinet and our country so well. To Rita Elisando, and all the others who work at the Institute, and to all of you, first, let me thank you for receiving me so well, and

thank you for letting me come early and leave early. You know I have a date with President Yeltsin tonight. [Laughter] And I don't want to stiff him, so I'm going to have to leave here in just a moment. I do want to—I wish I could take the mariachis back with me to entertain him. [Laughter]

I want to say a special word of thanks to a couple of people here: First, to Congressman Ron de Lugo who's retiring after two decades representing the Virgin Islands. We will miss him very much. And thanks—next I would like to say a special word of thanks to the chief deputy whip, Congressman Bill Richardson, for his wonderful efforts in Haiti, to help us make peace and restore democracy in Haiti.

Congressman Serrano went over some of the accomplishments of this administration, but I want to do it again to ask you to do something for all of these Members who are up here, because they have worked very hard—very, very hard—to make this country work again. And our biggest problem—the thing you laughed about there, about not getting credit—I don't really care who gets the credit, as long as the country is going forward. But when the congressional elections come up, the people who are getting credit for moving the country forward need to be rewarded, so the voters don't wind up inadvertently voting for the very things they are against.

And that's what I want you to think about. If someone had told you 20 months ago that in 20 months we would see the biggest deficit reduction passed in history; the biggest spending cuts in history; scores of Government programs eliminated outright; the smallest Federal bureaucracy since Kennedy was President; 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Truman was President; and still more money being spent to put 200,000 more kids in Head Start, to immunize all the children in America under the age of 2 by 1996; for education and training for people who are unemployed, for young people who want to go into good jobs when they get out of high school, but don't want to go on to college—you need apprenticeships; that we would reform the student loan program and make 20 million Americans eligible for student loans at lower interest

rates, lower fees, and longer repayment terms; and that these things would produce 4.3 million new jobs, a 1.5 percent decline in the Hispanic unemployment rate, you'd say that was pretty good, wouldn't you?

We are moving this country in the right direction. The guys that voted against us said if we did this, it would wreck the economy. They were wrong; we were right; the American people should know it. It's important, and you need to make a commitment not simply to support these folks here with the Institute and with your presence at this dinner but with your voice and your heart and your spirit and getting people out to vote between now and November the 8th. They were wrong; we were right. They should be rewarded because we are moving this country in the right direction.

Since NAFTA was ratified, we have increased exports to Mexico by 19 percent, 3 times as much as our exports are going up elsewhere. Automobile and truck exports are up 600 percent. We've got folks in those auto factories working overtime for the first time in more than 10 years. And I might say, that's why I hope we can pass the GATT agreement before we leave, because that will bring another 300,000 to 500,000 jobs into this economy.

We had 8 months in a row this year where manufacturing employment increased for the first time in 10 years. And for the first time in 9 years, the annual vote of the panel of international economists, the United States was voted the most productive economy in the entire world. We're moving in the right direction. They need to be rewarded for it, these people in Congress who have made it possible.

Because of the Hispanic Caucus, we're closer to reenacting the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to help give educationally disadvantaged children a better chance. Congressman Becerra worked especially hard on that.

In addition to passing, in this economic plan, a tax cut for 15 million working families with children, who are working and hovering just above the poverty line—who are disproportionately Hispanic, I might add—we cut their taxes. We raised tax rates on the top 1.2 percent of Americans, cut taxes for

15 million working families so they wouldn't fall into poverty while they were working, so they could succeed as parents and workers, so they wouldn't choose welfare over work. We did it; they all voted against it. You ought to reward the people who did it and not the reverse.

We also passed the motor voter bill after several years of gridlock, the Brady bill and the family and medical leave bill after 7 years of gridlock, the crime bill after 6 years of gridlock. We're about to announce the community, sometime this year, who won the empowerment zone competition, the enterprise community competition. We have more coming forward. Last week I signed the community development banking bill, which will put \$4.8 billion into poor communities, urban and rural, in this country so poor people can borrow money to put themselves in business in ways that will make a profit. This has been proven to work in other countries. It is wrong that America has not done it before, but we're going to bring free enterprise to the inner city and the isolated rural areas of America and prove that poor people want to work as well, and they can and will and will succeed.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to Chairman Gonzalez and Nydia Velázquez, Luis Gutierrez and Lucille Roybal-Allard for their leadership on this community development initiative; it was very important.

This administration has also kept its commitment to look more like America. With 302 Hispanic-American appointments, we have now appointed more than twice the number of Hispanic-Americans as my predecessor and, even better than that, of all those that went before. And I might add, in the area of Federal judges, we have appointed twice the number of Hispanic-Americans appointed by the last three Presidents—Democratic and Republican combined—and I am proud of that.

One other thing I want to mention, because some of you were there, but one of the greatest honors I have had as President was the opportunity that I was able to take to give the Medal of Freedom to Cesar Chavez. I only wish he had been there to receive it in person.

Let me close with this. I had the opportunity to have a great meeting, when I spoke to the United Nations yesterday, with President Salinas. And he said to me, "Mr. President," he said, "I follow American politics very closely, and we've had a wonderful partnership." And he said, "I understand many things about America, but I do not understand how, with your economy booming, with so much progress being made, with all these bills flying through Congress, most Americans say when they're polled they think the country is going in the wrong direction." I said, "Well, you just have to live here to understand that." *[Laughter]*

But you think about it. Every one of you works in some working group, maybe it's a big one, maybe it's a small one. How well could you do at your job if every day two-thirds of the people who showed up to work with you were convinced nothing good was going to happen and when something good did happen, denied that it did? *[Laughter]* That is the environment you ask these people to come to work every day in. You ask them to take brave decisions, vote for change, stand up to interest groups, push the country forward, when they know that there's better than a 50 percent chance that the people they're fighting for may not even get the message. That is what elections are for.

The fact is that against enormous odds from interest groups and enormous political odds and relentless opposition, the people on this stage with me have been responsible for an economic revival, for seriously addressing many of the greatest social problems facing this country. The deficit is down; the economy is up; jobs are up; trade is up; we have seriously addressed the crime problem. The American people are going to be more secure. We have done things for children, too long deferred, on immunizations, Head Start, the family leave policy, the policy of giving a tax break to working families on low incomes. We are moving the country forward and pulling it together. What remains is to get the message of the record of the last 20 months to the voters in the next 5 weeks.

You can do it; they need it. I will be out there doing my part. But if you liked what has happened before, you must ratify it by getting your friends and neighbors to say, We

are not going to be fooled; we are not going to be divided; and we are certainly not going back to the old policies of the past which wrecked the economy and divided this country; we're going forward together.

Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:46 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Rita Alezando, executive director, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a State Dinner Honoring President Boris Yeltsin

September 27, 1994

Ladies and gentlemen, President Yeltsin, Mrs. Yeltsin, distinguished guests: It is a great pleasure for Hillary and I to welcome Boris and Naina and all the Russian delegation to the White House. We're glad for this opportunity to return the generous hospitality that you bestowed on us in Moscow last January at the magnificent state dinner in the Kremlin's Hall of Facets and St. George's Hall. It was a magnificent evening that brought home to me, to Hillary, and to all the Americans there the vast richness of Russian culture.

Mr. President, our fellow Americans know you as the man who has led one of the most peaceful and hopeful revolutions of our time, the second Russian revolution. We were all inspired when you stood up for freedom in the streets of Moscow. And we have admired your patient, persistent, and successful efforts to build the institutions of democracy.

We know reform has been difficult, and there is a hard road yet to travel. But as I said this morning when you arrived at the White House, you have already proved the pessimists wrong. Under your leadership, Russia is coming together and moving forward. Her best days are still to come. And we are proud of our partnership with your great country.

At one of our previous meetings you were kind enough to give me a copy of your autobiography. It's a remarkable story, a story still in progress, of a man dedicated and deter-

mined to give his fellow Russians the opportunity to reach their full potential. I know there are many more volumes yet to be written, but one part of your book made a particular impression on me.

In your autobiography you tell the story of your father's ambition to invent a brick-laying machine. Time and again, he would describe in intricate detail how it would work, how it would mix mortar, lay the bricks, clean off the excess mortar, and move on to keep building. He had all sorts of sketches and calculations for this machine, which he believed would better the lives of the Russian people.

Mr. President, you have realized your father's dream, and on a scale he could never have imagined. Brick by brick, through your tireless and steadfast efforts, you have laid the foundation for a democratic Russia. Your nation has now an elected President and Parliament, a Constitution, an increasingly free economy, and an open society. In just a few short years, you have accomplished the work of a lifetime.

And so it is with great admiration for your historic achievements, confidence in our new partnership, and a belief that working together we will help to make a better world, that I, and I ask all of you to join me, in raising a glass to you, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:35 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Remarks at the "In the Beginning" Exhibit at the Library of Congress *September 28, 1994*

Thank you very much. President and Mrs. Yeltsin, Mr. Speaker, Senator Stevens, distinguished Members of Congress and other guests: I'd like to say a special word of commendation to Dr. Billington. I don't have an informed opinion about his Russian, but his English was impeccable this morning.

I'm honored to be joined by the President of the Russian Federation in opening the exhibit on the 200th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America. We gather in a new era of cooperation between our countries, but this exhibit reminds us that

the ties between our peoples are old and deep.

Two centuries ago, eight Russian priests arrived in North America to minister to Russian traders and the native peoples of Alaska. Together they forged a partnership, a new Russian and native American community that eventually would stretch down the Pacific coast. Though born on different continents, they were all resourceful, brave, and faithful people.

A century later, another Russian came to Alaska, Archbishop Tikhon. He soon presided over all the new Russian communities that had grown throughout the entire United States. He oversaw the completion of St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York City and returned to his mother country to become the first patriarch of Russia since the time of Peter the Great.

In the years since, countless Russian immigrants to America have formed churches and cultural associations in many of our great cities and farming communities. They have strengthened American industry, education, science, and most notably, the arts: literature, music, and dance. As this exhibit shows, our Nation's history has long been enriched by the Russian people, their fortitude, their culture, and their faith.

President Yeltsin, this library is a fitting place for this exhibition, for the Library of Congress first grew out of the personal library of our third President, Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and one of our first champions of religious tolerance and freedom. Today, the spirit of respect and understanding thrives in the exchange programs offered to the brilliant minds of young people from Russia and the United States. And we are joined here today by 30 of those students who have benefited from the exchange programs that our two Governments support so strongly.

I'd like to recognize especially the efforts of our USIA Director Joe Duffey and Senator Bill Bradley, who have worked so hard to make these exchanges a reality. Thomas Jefferson would be proud of them both.

As we remember the ties between Russia and America of two centuries ago, let us welcome our new ties and the new spirit of cooperation and a new century of partnership

that lies ahead, remembering that much of it began on one of the most important principles of our entire existence in America, the principle of religious liberty. When our Founders fought for the freedom of this country, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor for the right of every American to worship as he or she chooses.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. in the Great Hall. In his remarks, he referred to James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress.

The President's News Conference With President Yeltsin of Russia

September 28, 1994

President Clinton. We will begin the press conference now with opening statements, after which we will have, obviously, questions from the press. And we will do our best to alternate between the Russian and American press corps.

Hillary and I and our entire delegation have very much enjoyed having President and Mrs. Yeltsin with us, along with all the Russians who came with them. When President Yeltsin arrived yesterday, I spoke of the new partnership between our two nations. After our talks, one thing is clear: Relations between our nations are moving forward at full speed.

Both our countries, as President Yeltsin said yesterday, are sometimes not so easy to deal with, but we're succeeding in tackling some hard challenges. Over the past 2 days we've made good progress on security, economic, and diplomatic issues.

I'm pleased to announce today that President Yeltsin and I have agreed that as soon as the START I treaty takes effect and the START II treaty is ratified by both of our countries, we will immediately begin removing the nuclear warheads that are due to be scrapped under START II, instead of taking the 9 years allowed. There will be no adverse impact on the United States, the Soviet Union. Indeed, by shaving several years off the timetable, we will make the world safer for all of us.

We also plan to work together to encourage Ukraine to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty this year. As the world's two largest nuclear powers, we recognize our special responsibilities to ensure the security of nuclear weapons and materials, even as we keep dismantling them. This is one of the most urgent security challenges all the nations of the globe face as we enter the next century.

President Yeltsin and I spent a lot of time on this issue. We understand we won't solve the problem overnight, but the steps we've taken in areas such as inspecting each other's storage facilities and information sharing are an important start. We are personally committed to seeing this issue through.

Today President Yeltsin and I have signed an agreement that will gradually normalize our economic relations by removing major barriers to trade and investment. American support for Russian economic reform has been constant, and over the last 2 days American and Russian businesses have signed deals worth nearly \$1 billion, ranging from agriculture to telecommunications. We met several American and Russian business leaders this morning, and we're determined to advance America's investment in and trade with Russia.

We will transfer \$100 million in aid funds to directly support trade and investment through OPIC and the Commerce Department. And we will also devote \$30 million to help in the fight against crime in Russia through cooperation between the FBI and the Justice Department and appropriate Russian authorities.

On the diplomatic front, we've made progress on the difficult issue of Russian arms sales to Iran. We agreed to continue to work on this problem in the near future. We also agreed to work more closely together to help resolve the tragic conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

On Bosnia we repeated our commitment to work within the Contact Group to compel the parties to accept the settlement that has been worked out. Once again, I congratulated President Yeltsin on his historic decision to withdraw Russian troops from the Baltic nations.

No area better captures the potential for our emerging partnership than Russian-American cooperation in space. President Yeltsin and I first discussed this idea in Vancouver last year and decided we needed to go forward. Today I have signed into law a bill that will help to fund the international space station. This bill is the result in no small measure of the extraordinary cooperation between Vice President Gore and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, as well as the strong bipartisan support we received in the United States Congress. Like so much that we've accomplished in the past 2 days, this space station symbolizes the potential for progress when we work together.

This is the fifth time President Yeltsin and I have met since I came into office. I think I've spent more time with him than with any other world leader. We've made real progress over the last few days, in no small measure because we've worked together, we've learned to be open and candid with each other about our differences, we've built an atmosphere of mutual trust. And I'm confident that our partnership is working and will continue to work, not only between our two governments but increasingly between the people of Russia and the United States.

Mr. President.

President Yeltsin. Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen. First of all, I would like to express the feeling of great thanks and appreciation to President Bill Clinton, to his wife, Hillary, and also to the American people and you, the journalists, for a very warm welcome and for very fine conditions which were created to make our very tough and difficult visit, to make it very productive.

We always start these meetings by saying that we've really done a tremendous amount of work. We always say this at these press conferences. But we can't say that this meeting, as well, doesn't deserve this kind of characterization. In fact, we have accomplished a lot of work. And if we planned at one time that we were going to have one 30-minute one-on-one session, it turns out it lasted for 3 hours. So you can judge for yourselves how many issues we touched upon and discussed and what a wide scope we really worked on.

Although I have a trip to Seattle coming up where I want to familiarize myself with

the West—I had never been out West, out on the West Coast of the United States. I want to familiarize myself and get to know the Boeing Company, the city of Seattle, and just to see what kind of Americans live out there on the West Coast and how they work and how they are.

We, of course, with Bill now, it's—we are interlocutors who know each other and partners in our discussions and negotiations. We know each other very well, and more than that, we this time don't have to come and start warming up. We've had phone conversations; we talked ahead of time. So we started from the word go, right from the very beginning. We say that our partnership has to be pragmatic and not declaratory. And right away from the very beginning, we agreed to that.

I'm sure that neither Russia nor the United States needs all kinds of sharp deviations from having good, normal communications and ties. We don't need a situation where the whole world is in trepidation. We don't need to waste a lot of words and chew a lot of fat, but we have to get down to basics and start working in a very pragmatic style.

Of course, I say these words—now I think Bill has confirmed that the United States is a very complex partner, and Russia also is, too. But look, what family doesn't have some kind of squabbles occasionally which, eventually, they kind of work out. It's not always that simple, right? I mean, here are two great humongous, almost half billion member family who, too, has sometimes its own little approaches, if you will. But the most important thing is the ability to listen, to have patience, to have humanity, respect to each other. And then, absolutely, we will be able to find solutions.

I just want to tell you, to be short about it, these little introductory words—I just want to give you literally that list that those issues that we discussed. Here we go, and then later on, you'll be able to ask questions. It will be a lot easier to ask questions. [Laughter]

The most important talks and subjects of these talks are the strategic partnerships between Russia and the United States; international issues; external political coordination of our efforts so that we two great powers,

two countries constantly coordinated everything that we do so that nothing happens in the world that might ruin peace on our planet.

We have to support peace; the Big-8; peacekeeping; CIS; the role of Russia in the CIS; NATO and Russia; coordination in the United Nations Security Council; reforming United Nations; cooperating in the United Nations and the CIS; the situation all around the world; Bosnia; Middle East; Caribbean Basin; North Korea; Rwanda; Islamic extremism; Iran; Libya; Iraq; Trans-Dniestria; Nagorno-Karabakh; Abkhazia; Tajikistan; the Baltics; military issues; START III; START I, START II, now START III now—we're talking about three—[laughter]—non-proliferation; harmonizing our—you're not catching up? You can't think fast enough? [Laughter] Well, okay, then I'll go a little slower. All right? [Laughter] Apparently we're not on the same wavelength here, you and I, in terms of the pace here, okay.

Nonproliferation of weapons—[laughter]—harmonizing military doctrines—harmonizing, since today doctrine in the United States—the military doctrine is one; Russia has a different one. How are we going to be able to have a partnership, friendly partnership, and work together if we have such a disparate military doctrine?

New initiatives of the great five powers on strategic stability; ABM systems, strategic and technical ABM systems; biological weapons; chemical weapons; destruction and elimination of nuclear weapons, the safe elimination of nuclear weapons; exchange of information on nuclear arms and fissile materials for the first time; banning nuclear testing; participation of Russia in the regime of rocket technology—and we attach ourselves to this. We are joining where the United States is the initiator. Banning the export of mines—antipersonnel mines—I fully support the proposal of the United States of America in the U.N. when he spoke about getting rid of these antipersonnel mines.

Incidents with submarines, economic issues, investments, getting rid of discriminatory limitations on Russia and opening up the American market to Russian goods; the status for Russia of an economy in transition. Post-

COCOM economic and trade projects; free trade status; GATT.

Finally, we got together and agreed on the so-called Jackson-Vanik amendment. I've already said that every single kid in Russia knows who these people are, Jackson and this guy Vanik. [Laughter] The President, by my decree—I mean, by his decree—well, maybe it's temporary, but he has stopped it, all right, the actions of this amendment. And I am grateful; that this was a huge window, a bright window that appeared here between us. I'm very grateful.

Questions of crime; cooperating in the field of education, culture, ecology, environment, national minorities, the North; cooperation on tariffs, duties. And the President has already said that, of course, for all mankind, this is very important, so that in place of the year 2003, after the ratification of START II by Russia and the United States, we simultaneously remove all those weapons from alert status that were mentioned in the status—immediately. In other words, we save at least 7, maybe more, years by doing it right away. And we give mankind hope that our generation will be for sure living in peace.

At the center of our negotiation was the strategy of partnership between Russia and the United States. And I've already said that we've agreed on the fact that it should be more pragmatic. Discussions of partnership for economic progress as well—we agreed here, also.

In the United States now we have a large group of Russian businessmen. In New York I met with the captains of industry, big industry in the United States and with Russia. And today, as a matter of fact, with President Bill Clinton, we met also with representatives of big business here. And we came to terms and decided, well, what, after all, is standing in the way of investments and attracting investments and capital to Russia on the part of private capital. And I have to say that we, in general, came to terms with this.

Looking into the future, we, at the same time, tried not to sort of float above this sinful Earth. Specifically, we agreed on fighting crime. And there are other specific things, protecting the environment in the north of Russia, protecting the environment; communication system, developing communication.

After all, I mean, I just have to say that even though many people predicted that this is going to be not just tough negotiations, but they're going to fall through in the ultimate analysis, I have to really be very sorry and express my condolences to these people. We agreed to almost practically every single one of these issues. Sometimes the United States stepped forward and compromised a little; sometimes Russia compromised, but the most important thing is for peace, for humanity, for mankind, for our whole planet, we have agreed.

Thank you. Now, please questions. He is the host, so he calls the shots. [Laughter]

President Clinton. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International] let me say, one of the things I would do—I've always wanted to be on the other side of this microphone, and if I were on the other side of the microphone today, my question would be, "And what were your agreements on issues 15, 27, and 43?" [Laughter]

Go ahead, Helen.

Q. Well, I have a question for each of the Presidents and I've narrowed it a bit. You cover the waterfront, and I'm sure you have all the answers. I would like to answer President Clinton, are you going to call a special session on GATT?

President Yeltsin, I think the American people are very happy to find out that Russia will never attack the United States, as you said today, that you would never fight. But we are a little bit concerned——

President Clinton. Excuse me, Helen. Apparently the Russian interpreter is not coming through the microphone. No, no, no—he can hear you. It's the Russian—we need the Russian. We need someone to say this in Russian.

Q. Oh, okay, I'm sure the United States is very happy to hear you say that Russia will never attack the U.S. You said that today, and that's very good. But there is some concern that Russia may still have some feeling that it has a sphere of influence over former Soviet republics, and that when you intervene, you don't feel it necessary to go through international institutions. Is that true?

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

President Clinton. So we have two separate questions. I'll answer mine first.

I think it is the responsibility of the United States and the United States Congress to pass the GATT this year. And I hope that the Congress will do it before they leave. Our information is that there are more than enough votes to pass it in the House and that we have a majority in the Senate if we can get the bill to the floor. That's so often the question in the Senate. So we'll keep trying to pass it. If for some reason the Senate does not pass it, then I will urge that they stay in session and simply go on recess for the election break and then come back after the recess and pass GATT.

This is the biggest trade agreement in history. It's the biggest worldwide tax cut in history by reductions of tariffs, \$36 billion in this country alone. It will give us 300,000 to 500,000 new high-wage jobs in the next few years alone. I think it is important to pass it.

Our country has established, even in what has been a reasonably or very partisan atmosphere in the last couple of years, a real commitment during our administration to work in a bipartisan way toward expanded trade. So I urge the Congress to pass the GATT before they go home. If it passes the House and doesn't pass the Senate I will urge that the Senate stay in session, take a recess for the election, come back afterward, and pass this. It's very important.

We have the APEC meeting coming up; we have the Summit of the Americas coming up. We're trying to break down our barriers with Russia and many other countries. The United States has to lead on this, and I intend to do everything I can to see that we do lead.

President Yeltsin.

Russian Foreign Policy

President Yeltsin. Well, of course, we're not planning to avoid and go walk around the decisions of the United Nations. Moreover, as you know, I'm appearing at the General Assembly session and I came out and talked for strengthening it, for widening this organization, so this organization would be strengthened in the future. Maybe they need

it now more than ever, more than 20 years ago.

So, now, as far as the CIS countries, how do you feel? I mean, are you close to the neighbor that you live next to, or not? Of course—are you? [*Laughter*]

Well, these are our neighbors. Yesterday, we all were in the same; we lived in the same house in the Soviet Union. There is no Soviet Union, but these republic states, they're our blood, right? Come on, let's be honest. We've helped them financially just as you help other countries, you financially help other countries, Latin America, Africa, et cetera, et cetera. It's only natural that we would have contacts and ties. They should be good. As a matter of fact, now we're planning some kind of centrifugal forces pulling them inward, those tendencies. Everybody wants to be close to Russia, and we will be friendly with them, and we will support them. But in no way not to contravene any international norms of behavior which are established or which shall be established. No.

President Clinton. I'll call on a Russian, Mr. President.

COCOM

Q. Now, COCOM and antidumping campaign, are there any specific decisions, any specific time lines and schedules and solutions?

President Yeltsin. Well, probably, it's the first time now that we have—for a long time we marched along this path. It took us a long time to get here. There were many problems along the way, but we've come to terms. The conditions—I think Bill will probably agree with me—I can tell you very frankly that for us the one condition that was set was that—we supply weapons to Iran, and so we were not allowed to this so-called kitchen in the creation of the post-COCOM regime where they were cooking up whatever this regime was going to look like.

Now, how have we come to an agreement? Now, there was a contract signed by the former Soviet Union with Iran. We are solid citizens, great power; we cannot but satisfy the terms of that contract. So the old contract, which had been signed years ago, back in '88 will be honored. But no other new contracts, no other new supplies, no other

new shipments of weapons and weapons goods will be shipped. Those are the grounds upon which Bill Clinton agreed that we are going to participate in the post-COCOM era.

President Clinton. You asked another question. Let me say that is generally accurate where there are some—we reached a conceptual agreement in principle about how we would proceed, and then we agreed to let our experts on this matter work through it. And so we are working through it now and, we hope to resolve it soon. But we cannot say that it is resolved because this matter, as you might understand, for both of us the details are quite important. So that while we reached a conceptual agreement, we have to work through the details.

With regard to the antidumping. I think what you're referring to is my attempts to get the Congress to pass legislation which would declare Russia an economy in transition, which would facilitate more two-way trade. I have proposed such legislation to the Congress; it has not yet passed. We are working on a package of initiatives which would include the reduction of trade barriers in Russia and some more initiatives on our part so that we could get that kind of economy in transition status, which I think responds to the question that you asked.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Q. Mr. President, as you know, it's within your authority to call Congress back into session should it leave without passing GATT. Are you prepared to take that step if necessary, sir?

President Clinton. Well, I thought I made that clear. Yes, my preference would be, and what I believe we can do, based on our soundings today, is, if Congress leaves without passing GATT I will ask that the Senate not adjourn but simply to go into recess and then return afterward. I will do whatever I can within the law to do everything I can to pass the GATT this year. I think it is important that it pass. It's important that it pass this year. It's important for the United States and our leadership, our efforts to get others to drop their trade barriers, to open their markets, to move forward. We have to set an example here.

I might say that a lot of the people who were opposed to NAFTA—let me just point out, our trade with Mexico has increased by about 19 percent in the last year. Our sales of autos and trucks have increased by 600 percent. And that's one of the reasons that a lot of those folks are working overtime for the first time in a decade. So this is plainly in our interest. It will create hundreds of thousands of jobs. And I'm going to do whatever I can, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], within the law to get this done this year.

Security and Stability Initiative

Q. Appearing at the United Nations, you proposed to immediately work out a treaty on stability and security. Apparently, you discussed this, too, with the President. How much do you feel that the approaches of Russia and the United States are similar in terms of coming up with a treaty? How would they coincide?

President Yeltsin. Well, in principle, the President of the United States agreed with the formulation that I made. Although he did say that the President of Russia has put forth too many initiatives there at the Assembly, and we're going to have to have some time to study all of these new initiatives that I've put forward.

Bosnia

Q. President Yeltsin, sir, you said again today that you oppose lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia. Would Russia veto a resolution to lift that arms embargo if the Serbs don't agree to a settlement within a certain amount of months?

And to President Clinton, what's your understanding of—is there any agreement between the two of you on this contentious issue?

President Yeltsin. Well, first of all, it's made easier for us by the decision and in solving this issue the fact that the Bosnians themselves have asked delay for, say, 4 to 6 months, altogether; even to take it off of the agenda for discussion. But in 6 months we'll take a look and see.

President Clinton. What we did agree to do was to take some new initiatives to try to get the thing worked out as quickly as possible. And we still have a potential difference

over that issue. There's no question about it. But we have—let me say, the remarkable thing here is how closely we have worked together on Bosnia for many months now. And I think a lot of the good things that have happened in that whole sad case have come about because we have worked together with Russia and with our NATO allies as well as with the United Nations.

Trade and Investment

Q. What are you planning to do in improving the investment climate for American companies after your discussions here that you had all day? And an additional question to President Bill Clinton regarding the anti-dumping legislation. Does it mean giving Russians the transition economy status, the Section 4.06 on trade?

President Yeltsin. I answer by saying that in meeting with businessmen and every one of them when he speaks said one and the same thing, "taxes, taxes." We, ourselves, understand that in '91 a reborn Russia rather quickly prepared a legislation on taxation, and it was full of mistakes, both for our own businessmen and for outside businessmen.

And so now, what we're preparing—and among this is also very kindly Bill proposed the use of our American 200-year history and experience in tax legislation—that we send a group of tax specialists here to take a look at how all these things are formed in the United States. But we're preparing a tax code which will, I feel, be adopted in the first 6 months, the first half of 1995. And it, of course, is substantially going to be different from the situation today and, of course, will make life a lot more easy for the foreign investors as well.

President Clinton. Let me respond very briefly to the question you asked. If Russia were granted under Federal law an economy in transition status, then the rules for judging whether products are being dumped or not would be somewhat different. The United States has made a great effort to trade more with Russia. Since I've been President, we've tripled our trade in 1993 over 1992; we doubled our purchases in 1994 over 1993. So we are working ahead. But we also have to have some tariff relief on things that we can sell in Russia in certain critical areas, includ-

ing aerospace, automobiles, confectionery; a lot of other things we've talked about. So we're going to try to work through that and get a resolution.

Go ahead, Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News].

Russian Foreign Policy

Q. I'd like to ask both President Yeltsin and President Clinton: The United States has been concerned about what Russia will do in the former CIS countries, particularly Nagorno-Karabakh. You've spoken to that, but can I ask you, how is that any different from the sphere of influence that the United States claims to have over Haiti? And I'd like your comment as well.

President Clinton. Fair question.

President Yeltsin. Well, you know, in general, the President of the United States and we personally never really got into the details of this issue and only now we dedicated a lot of time at this session. As a matter of fact, we haven't even finished in one day; we carried it over until today. Today we discussed it again, on the Nagorno-Karabakh. And finally, in principle, the principle approach, we sort of brought them together. But in order to implement these, we're going to need some time to prepare documents, to look at the U.N. documentation. In short, the most important thing is that we have come to an understanding on this.

Q. President Yeltsin, I'm interested in whether you feel that the U.S. objections to Russian intervention with your neighbors is any different than what the United States has done in intervening in Haiti, which we claim is part of our sphere of influence? Do you think there is some hypocrisy here on the part of the United States?

President Yeltsin. No, I cannot say that, because Russia voted for the Resolution 940 in the United Nations and thereby we supported the actions of the United States of America.

Now, as Nagorno-Karabakh, this is our neighbor. They asked us that we help them, that we participate in the resolution of this conflict, just like we resolved it in Moldova, just like we set up peacekeeping forces between Abkhazia and Georgia, and there bloodshed stopped. Now, we have to get the

refugees back, et cetera. We're helping our neighbors.

President Clinton. Let me answer that question. First of all, the United States does not object to Russia taking an active role in the resolution of the problem in Nagorno-Karabakh. What we have discussed with the Russians, and what Boris and I finally had a chance to discuss personally together at some considerable length, is how that could be made more like Haiti. That is, how whatever Russia does should be done in a manner that is consistent with and within the framework of the United Nations resolution.

I think that Russia plainly does have an interest, a significant interest, in what happens on its borders and what happens in countries on its borders. In all of our discussions, President Yeltsin has acknowledged that he respected the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial integrity of all those countries, but that what happened there reflected what happened within his country, and that there were things that he might be able to do there in pursuit of stability without being inconsistent with sovereignty and territorial integrity and independence that were appropriate.

What we did in Haiti, as you know, was not to act on our own although the United States has, in the 20th century, acted on its own many times in this hemisphere. We went to the United Nations. We amassed an international coalition that has 28 nations for the first phase of this operation and then even more for the second phase. And I think that's the way we ought to proceed.

It may be necessary for other nations with military or other capacity to handle other problems or to at least take the lead on other problems in their areas. But when it is done, it should be done within the framework of the United Nations wherever possible and with respect for territorial integrity. And I think we are moving forward in that direction.

Press Secretary Myers. Last question.

ABM Treaty

Q. Based on the reports of the U.S. press sources, the United States aimed at making additions to the ABM treaty which substantially changes its content. Was this discussed

at the negotiations and talks? And what is your impression?

President Yeltsin. Well, apparently you didn't catch—I was reading so fast this list of mine, you didn't—I mentioned there the ABM. In other words, we did discuss the ABM issue, but there, taking into the account the professional difficulties, we handed that over to a joint commission which is now working so that it can make its recommendations. Right?

President Clinton. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 71st news conference began at 3:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. President Yeltsin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, the President referred to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

Remarks at a Reception for Business Leaders

September 28, 1994

Ladies and gentlemen, after about 2 days of solid meetings, President Yeltsin and I are talked out. [*Laughter*] But we're delighted to see you.

We just came from our joint press conference where President Yeltsin listed about 40 things, or maybe 50, that we discussed. I never thought I would see anyone exhaust the American press corps, but he did it. [*Laughter*] So then I got up to answer the first question, and I said, before any questions, I want you to know our positions on items 13, 27, and 32. [*Laughter*]

Ladies and gentlemen, when I became President, I was absolutely convinced our country had to redefine the role of its National Government as we move toward the 21st century and that one of the things we had to do is to move away from the extreme views of Government as a savior for all the problems of society on the one hand or Government as sort of sitting on the sidelines while history goes by on the other. It was obvious to me that we needed a new idea of partnerships between our National Government—partnerships with other countries, partnerships with the business community,

partnerships with all ordinary Americans as they seek to fulfill their dreams and their abilities.

This meeting represents two of those partnerships. I want to thank the Vice President for the work he has done with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin in cementing our partnership with Russia on an economic basis and on a scientific basis. And I want to thank Bob Strauss and all the rest of you who have been a part of our partnership between the American Government and the American business community reaching out for new opportunities all around the world.

The depth and the durability of the relationship between the United States and Russia will affect the future of every person in our two countries and every person in the world over the next 10 years. We have to make it right. And one of the ways we can make it right is by a deep economic partnership rooted in trade and investment. We are committed to that. And I know you are committed to that. And I can tell you that Boris Yeltsin is committed to that.

Let me close by thanking some of the people who will turn our words into reality. Besides the Vice President, as he has already noted, the Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, the head of our Export-Import Bank, Ken Brody, Ruth Harkin, who runs OPIC for us. I thank all of them. And I also thank Ambassador Tom Pickering, who along with the Secretary of State and so many others in the State Department, have totally changed the direction of our American diplomacy so that now the American State Department is known all over the world as being interested in doing business and helping Americans do business, instead of being uninvolved.

I thank Secretary O'Leary and all the other Cabinet members who have been to Russia. And again, I close with pledging my full partnership to you and to my friend Boris Yeltsin. Together, we can make the future what it ought to be for all our people.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. in the Atrium at the Corcoran Gallery of Art. In his remarks, he referred to Robert Strauss, chairman, U.S./Russian Business Council. A tape was not

available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Statement on Signing the
Departments of Veterans Affairs and
Housing and Urban Development,
and Independent Agencies
Appropriations Act, 1995**

September 28, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4624, the "Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, FY 1995."

The Act provides funding for the Departments of Veterans Affairs (VA) and Housing and Urban Development, Environmental Protection Agency, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and National Science Foundation and various other agencies. This Act will fund important activities in the space program, housing programs, environmental protection, and programs for our Nation's veterans.

I am pleased that the Act provides funding for a number of my high-priority investment proposals, including both the National Service and Community Development Financial Institutions initiatives. The National Service Initiative will provide an opportunity for young people to obtain funding for a college education while serving the country in areas of great need such as education, environment, public safety, and human services. Funding for the Community Development Financial Institutions fund will increase the flow of capital to distressed neighborhoods and their currently underserved low-income residents, and provide financing for neighborhood redevelopment and revitalization efforts.

The Act also provides funding for the redesigned Space Station and other programs that will set a new direction for the Nation in space exploration, science, and technology. The Act includes about \$260 million for cooperative activities with Russia, with about half of that going directly for joint space station, human space flight, and scientific cooperation.

The Act includes \$7.2 billion in funding for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The Act provides funds for EPA programs that protect our environment through enforcement of our environmental laws, cleanup of hazardous waste sites, and construction of needed water and waste water treatment facilities.

The Act meets the needs of our Nation's veterans by providing \$16.2 billion in funding for the VA medical care program, an increase of \$0.6 billion over the FY 1994 enacted level.

The Act includes \$25.7 billion in funding for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, including funding for programs such as the HOME block grants for housing, Community Development Grants, and Severely Distressed Public Housing. These programs will assist communities and individuals in revitalizing neighborhoods and increasing opportunities for home ownership.

The Act provides \$3.4 billion in funding for the National Science Foundation (NSF), a \$343 million increase over the FY 1994 enacted level. NSF programs will promote basic research that is vital to enabling our Nation to compete in world markets.

The Act includes a requested FY 1994 emergency supplemental appropriation of \$225 million to finance housing repairs in areas affected by the Northridge earthquake ("ghost towns") to be derived by transfers of previously appropriated emergency funds from the Departments of Education and Transportation.

Concurrently with signing this bill, I am transmitting to the Congress a request to make available \$14.5 million for FEMA, which I am designating as an emergency requirement. These funds will provide additional resources to address consequences of the Northridge earthquake. The funds, which were appropriated in Public Law 103-211, the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1994, will be transferred from the Unanticipated Needs account within Funds Appropriated to the President. These funds will provide \$150 million in additional

emergency disaster loans to the victims of the Northridge earthquake.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 28, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4624, approved September 28, was assigned Public Law No. 103-327.

**Partnership for Economic Progress:
Joint Statement on Principles and
Objectives for the Development of
Trade, Economic Cooperation, and
Investment**

September 28, 1994

*The United States of America and the
Russian Federation,*

Believing that strong economic ties and cooperation can contribute significantly to the building of strong, friendly relations and acceleration of the development of free markets, economic growth and job creation in both countries,

Based on continuing progress by the Russian Federation in steps to create a market economy and more open commercial and investment environment, including the necessary legal and financial conditions,

Desiring to build a strategic economic partnership between the two countries and accelerate and give vibrancy to the efforts of their private and commercial sectors to develop commercial projects on the basis of trade, joint ventures, and foreign direct investment,

Noting the positive trends and developments in the legal, commercial, and financial frameworks for bilateral trade, economic cooperation and investment,

Positively assessing steps by the Russian Federation in creating a market economy, and by the United States of America in extending technical assistance to support, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, market reforms in the Russian Federation and the development of bilateral commercial relations,

Noting the complementarity of the American and Russian economics for the development of key economic sectors and the significant potential for development of mutually

beneficial commercial ventures between the two countries,

Reaffirming their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter for American-Russian Partnership and Friendship of June 17, 1992, and the principles of the Vancouver (April 1993) and Moscow (January 1994) Declarations by the presidents of both countries,

Noting the important role of the joint Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation in creating the conditions for strengthening U.S.-Russian economic cooperation,

Have adopted the following Principles and Objectives for the development of trade, economic cooperation and investment relations:

Trade

The United States of America and the Russian Federation seek to establish a normal trade relationship as quickly as feasible, to support a rapid increase in bilateral commerce. Great value is placed on the Agreement on Trade Relations in force between the United States of America and the Russian Federation and both countries are committed to carry out fully the provisions of this Agreement.

The United States recognizes the significance of the removal of Russia from application of the provisions of Title IV of the U.S. Trade Act of 1974 (the Jackson-Vanik Amendment). The U.S. Administration has made a positive determination that Russia is in full compliance with Title IV criteria and will consult with the U.S. Congress at an early date concerning legislation to remove Russia from application of Title IV.

Both countries welcome the work of the U.S.-Russia Joint Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation and its various bilateral committees, including the U.S.-Russia Intergovernmental Business Development Committee to contribute to the expansion of bilateral trade and investment and will utilize the Business Development Committee as a means for frequent consultation on the means of improving the environment for commercial growth. Each side will use its best efforts to implement measures supporting trade expansion and to remove obstacles to trade development.

The United States and Russia note that as of September 30, 1993, the United States has extended to qualifying Russian exports eligibility for duty-free entrance into the United States under the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences program covering 4,400 products, and that during 1994 U.S. technical experts will provide information to Russian officials and entrepreneurs on effective utilization of the GSP program.

The United States expects to extend the benefits of the GSP program to Russia for so long as its program authority and Russian eligibility under authorizing legislation permit. Russia will review the possibility of removing certain tariff barriers impeding development of trade.

Both countries will facilitate trade and investment expansion through the dissemination of reliable and comprehensive economic data, transparent and stable commercial laws and regulations, and active promotion of business contacts and facilitating access to commercial market information. Noting the provisions of the U.S.-Russia Agreement on Trade Relations concerning transparency of new laws and regulations, the United States believes it would be useful if Russia adopted procedures for public comment on proposed changes to commercial laws and regulations, as well as advance notification and publication of proposed changes. Until such procedures are in place, both countries through the Business Development Committee will facilitate the timely exchange of information on legislation and regulations as they are adopted.

Market Access. Each country desires to provide liberal access to its market for the other's goods and services. They are committed to avoid trade frictions and facilitate access consistent with fair trade practices and their respective trade laws.

The U.S.-Russia Business Development Committee is an important forum for discussions of current and potential market access issues and for the development of recommended policies and regulations which would support expanded trade and investment.

Recognizing that Russia is an economy in transition to a free market, the United States will give priority attention to the special mar-

ket access problems Russia faces as it continues its economic transition. The U.S. Administration will consult with the U.S. Congress on this subject.

Market access issues will be addressed from a broader bilateral perspective through the Business Development Committee's Market Access Working Group. This group will consider initiatives designed to reduce barriers to mutual market access, taking into account the unique problems Russia faces as an economy in transition.

The United States and Russia will immediately work to address Russia's concerns with U.S. antidumping laws, beginning with procedures to disseminate information designed to prevent unfair trade and procedures designed to facilitate participation in antidumping proceedings if unfair trade occurs. They agree to discuss changing market trends resulting from Russia's transition to a market economy and integration into the global trading system.

Both countries recognize that tariff-reducing measures, consistent with GATT/WTO principles, will provide an important stimulus to bilateral trade and investment. They also intend to review and seek prompt removal of technical barriers to trade through both bilateral cooperation and unilateral measures. The reduction of such tariff and technical barriers to trade will lead to increased investment and promote the development and growth of economically healthy, globally competitive domestic industries.

Both countries consider cooperation in international standardization and openness of conformity assessment indispensable to eliminating or avoiding the creation of technical barriers to trade and intend to proceed vigorously with the program of work agreed upon in the Joint Communiqué on Cooperation in Conformity Assessment issued in Moscow on December 16, 1993, at the conclusion of the meetings of the Joint Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation led by Vice President Albert Gore and Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin. They consider progress in product certification, testing and quality assurance to be of priority for telecommunications equipment, drugs, pharmaceuticals and medical devices.

The United States looks forward to the implementation by Russia of a trade regime that would speed its accession to the GATT/WTO and open the way to application of GATT/WTO principles in their bilateral trade. The United States supports Russia's accession to the GATT/WTO and expresses its readiness to extend appropriate technical assistance and to consult concerning the process of accession.

Intellectual Property Rights. The United States and Russia look forward to continued cooperation under the working group on intellectual property matters, established by the Agreement on Trade Relations between the United States of America and the Russian Federation.

The United States recognizes Russia's considerable progress in enacting intellectual property rights legislation. Both sides consider effective enforcement of those laws to be important. In particular, the United States considers protection for pharmaceuticals, computer software, sound recordings, books, and integrated circuit layout designs to be of primary importance. The U.S. side looks forward to Russia's rapid accession to the Berne Convention on the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.

Closer Economic Cooperation and Commercial Partnership. The two countries share the view that their two economies are complementary in many ways and that the extent of economic cooperation currently existing between the two is only a small fraction of its potential. They agree that the two economies could benefit strongly from the elimination of trade and commercial barriers between them.

The United States and Russia concur that Russia must take additional market-oriented steps for trade and commercial cooperation to reach its potential. Both agree that closer economic cooperation will have a beneficial effect on bolstering the continued market transformation of Russia's economy.

The elimination of barriers to trade and investment and increased commercial cooperation will emphasize the totally changed nature of the relationship between the two countries to one of strategic economic partnership.

In this context, the United States and Russia at an appropriate time could consider future arrangements to enhance their bilateral economic relationship. They also will work through the Business Development Committee forum to identify measures for achieving closer commercial integration.

Investment and Finance

The two sides note favorably the June 1992 Treaty on the Encouragement and Reciprocal Protection of Investment that has been signed by the heads of both States and that has been approved by the U.S. Senate. They agree that ratification by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly and its prompt entry into force is a critical goal to be achieved in improving the Russian investment environment for American companies.

They also agree that the steps taken by Russia pursuant to President Yeltsin's Decree 1466 of September 27, 1993 form the basis for moving forward with administrative and legislative actions to further improve the investment climate in Russia. They share the opinion that bilateral discussions that include the business communities of both countries will be the most rapid way of identifying the precise actions that are needed.

Support for Reform. The United States reaffirms its support for Russia's efforts to establish a market economy and offers continuing active assistance to the process of reform.

In particular, the United States welcomes Russia's intention to establish new incentives, consistent with international standards and agreements including the GATT/WTO, to attract foreign direct investment, to continue its highly successful privatization program, to take additional steps to liberalize the economy and foreign trade by freeing prices and opening up its markets to the world at large, and to enforce the right of private land ownership.

Russia acknowledges and welcomes the support of the United States for its reform efforts and will continue to cooperate closely to identify ways in which the two nations can work together to expedite Russia's transformation into a market system.

Russia is committed to a continuous process of market reform. The United States and

Russia recognize that trade and investment activities between the two countries, based on private sector commerce, will provide the foundations for sustained growth now and in the future. Such trade and investment activities will help both nations acquire new technology and know-how and the resulting capital flows will be an important source of financing for both nations that will support reform, create new jobs and improve the quality of life in both countries.

The United States and Russia agree that the development of a climate hospitable toward foreign direct investment could result in tens of billions of dollars of new direct investment in Russia, and could generate a much closer commercial relationship between the business communities of both countries. The United States and Russia will work through the Business Development Committee to identify and eliminate barriers to investment, including sector-specific issues.

“Commercial Partnership Program”. The United States and Russia undertake to establish a “Commercial Partnership Program” to enhance existing bilateral and multilateral agreements by providing detailed guidelines and milestones based on the principles outlined in this document for achieving closer commercial cooperation. The Commercial Partnership Program will be developed in several stages, based on continuing progress in political and economic reforms by Russia and in the flow of commerce between the two nations. Each stage will involve implementation and expansion of specific programs to encourage company-to-company cooperation and expanded trade and investment. The Business Development Committee will coordinate the identification and implementation of specific steps toward this goal.

Industry Cooperation. The two countries believe that private sector efforts are vital to the success of Russia’s creation of a market economy. Industry cooperation in key sectors will provide the necessary capital and business expertise to support economic development. Economic competition generated through private sector cooperation will benefit both countries by improving product qual-

ity and manufacturing efficiency and by creating jobs.

The United States and Russia agree that investment and trade in the oil and gas sector provide Russia with an opportunity to attract U.S. capital and technology on a vast scale, far beyond resources available from foreign assistance. They understand the desirability of taking earliest possible steps in Russia to attract foreign capital and to provide an attractive investment climate, including realization of production sharing agreements, stable and reasonable tax and export regimes, and equal and predictable access to pipelines, in line with the European Energy Charter Treaty.

The United States and Russia declare that investment and trade in other industry sectors, as well, are essential to overall economic development. Agribusiness and food processing, aerospace, mining, medical devices and pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, transportation, environmental equipment, housing, and defense conversion are priority sectors for cooperation. Both countries will consider appropriate measures for supporting joint ventures in designated sectors.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

Joint Statement on Cooperation in Promoting the Rule of Law and Combating Crime *September 28, 1994*

President Boris Yeltsin and President William Clinton, during their meeting in Washington on September 27 and 28, 1994, noted the threat which crime poses to the Russian and American societies and to the entire international community. Of particular concern to the Presidents was the rise in financial crime, nuclear materials smuggling, organized crime, and drug trafficking. They agreed that bilateral and international cooperative efforts would be necessary to combat this growing threat.

The Presidents noted that cooperation in law enforcement between their two countries could in a substantial way help to resolve the problem of crime and should be institutionalized through bilateral agreements. To this

end, delegations from the United States and the Russian Federation held a first round of negotiations for an Agreement on Cooperation in Criminal Matters which commits each country to assist the other in criminal investigations and crime prevention. The Presidents expressed their intention to sign and bring into force as quickly as possible this Agreement. The Presidents also announced their intention to enter into negotiations for a broader Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty.

President Clinton announced the intention of the United States to offer an expanded program of assistance to the Russian Federation, including technical assistance and training of personnel to support cooperation between the Russian Federation and the United States in promoting the rule of law and combating crime.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

Joint Announcement on Environmental Protection in the Arctic

September 28, 1994

President William Clinton and President Boris Yeltsin announced at their summit meeting on September 27 and 28, 1994, that cooperation in the resolution of the problems of processing and storage of Russian liquid radioactive wastes in the North of Russia is considered by both sides as an important component of more effective protection for the environmental quality and natural resources of the Arctic.

The Russian Federation and the United States of America confirm their readiness to cooperate in consistently preventing dumping of liquid radioactive wastes, in accordance with the London Convention, and to proceed to a solution of the problem of Arctic pollution from all sources. To this end, the Russian Federation and the United States of America agree to undertake immediately, in cooperation with other interested countries, a step-by-step expansion and upgrading of a treatment facility for liquid low-level radioactive waste in Murmansk. Both sides hope that a speedy implementation of this project, which is in the interests of all states of the region, will become the focal point of efforts

to create the infrastructure for ecologically safe processing and storage of liquid low-level radioactive wastes in the North of Russia. At the same time, Russia intends to continue its present policy of voluntary commitment to the prohibition on dumping liquid radioactive wastes under the London Convention with a view to eventual formal adherence to the prohibition.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

Executive Order 12928—Promoting Procurement With Small Businesses Owned and Controlled by Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Individuals, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, and Minority Institutions

September 16, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, in order to enforce rigorously the letter and spirit of public laws that promote increased participation in Federal procurement by Small Businesses Owned and Controlled by Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Individuals (SDBs) as described in section 8 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 637), Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as described in 34 C.F.R. 608.2, and Minority Institutions (MIs) as referred to in sections 1046(3) and 316(b)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended (20 U.S.C. 1135d-5(3) and 1059c(b)(1), respectively), it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy Statement. It is the policy of the United States Government that all department and agency heads and all Federal employees involved in the procurement of any and all goods and services shall assist SDBs, HBCUs, and MIs, as applicable, to develop viable, self-sustaining businesses capable of competing on an equal basis in the mainstream of the American economy. To that end, all Federal personnel shall commit to the letter and spirit of all laws promoting the participation of SDBs, HBCUs, and MIs in Federal procurement. The laws promote:

(a) the award of contracts to SDBs, HBCUs, and MIs through the Small Business Administration Section 8(a) Program, the Department of Defense Small and Disadvantaged Business Program, other agency programs, and through other specific statutory authority or appropriate means;

(b) the establishment of particular goals for SDBs, HBCUs, or MIs on an agency-by-agency basis and the requirement that prime contractors and other recipients of Federal funds attain similar goals in their procurement; and

(c) the establishment of other mechanisms that ensure that SDBs, HBCUs, and MIs have a fair opportunity to participate in Federal procurement.

Sec. 2. Attainment of Goals. All departments and agencies are required by law to establish participation goals of not less than 5 percent (15 U.S.C. 644(g)) or a greater percentage where otherwise required by law, as further provided in the Office of Federal Procurement Policy Letter No. 91-1 of March 11, 1991. Although the Federal Government has made substantial strides toward meeting established SDB, HBCU, and MI participation goals, certain departments and agencies have from time to time failed to aggressively pursue such goals. Department and agency heads are henceforth directed to execute, implement, and otherwise aggressively strive to fulfill the statutorily-mandated procurement participation goals. In addition, all departments and agencies are encouraged to set reasonable participation goals that exceed statutory requirements, to the extent permitted by law.

Sec. 3. Subcontracting Plans. The Small Business Act, (15 U.S.C. 637(d)) and other related laws require certain prime contractors to maximize the use of SDBs in subcontracting plans and strive to achieve stated goals through prime contractors' subcontracting practices. Department and agency heads are directed to aggressively enforce these prime contractors' obligations to maximize awards of subcontracts to eligible SDBs.

Sec. 4. Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization ("OSDBU"). (a) Section 15(k) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 644(k)) establishes in each Federal depart-

ment and agency an OSDBU and requires that the Director of the OSDBU "be responsible only to, and report directly to, the head of such agency or to the deputy of such head" (15 U.S.C. 644(k)(3)). To the extent not prohibited by law, each department and agency shall ensure that the aforementioned direct reporting requirements are henceforth vigorously enforced.

(b) Because of the importance of the OSDBU function, each department and agency shall also, to the extent not prohibited by law, comply with the Office of Federal Procurement Policy Letter No. 79-1 of March 7, 1979, which provides implementation guidance on section 15k and the organizational placement and functions of the OSDBU.

Sec. 5. Anti-fraud Enforcement. All department and agency heads shall ensure that in enforcing the laws and requirements mentioned in this order, Federal benefits or contracts intended for SDBs, HBCUs, and MIs are not awarded to entities that are not legitimate SDBs, HBCUs, and MIs. Department and agency anti-fraud enforcement, however, shall not diminish agency vigor in achieving the aforementioned participation goals, which exist to promote the development of legitimate SDBs, HBCUs, and MIs. Nothing herein is intended to change self-certification requirements.

Sec. 6. Periodic Reports to the President. The Administrator of the Small Business Administration and the Administrator of the Office of Federal Procurement Policy shall report to the President periodically on the progress of all departments and agencies in complying with the laws and requirements mentioned in this order.

Sec. 7. Independent Agencies. Independent agencies are requested to comply with the provisions of this order.

Sec. 8. This order shall be effective immediately.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 16, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:59 a.m., September 19, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on September 20, and it was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 29.

Remarks on Signing the Riegle-Neal Interstate Banking and Branching Efficiency Act of 1994

September 29, 1994

Thank you very much, Dick Kovacevich, for your fine words and your strong support of this endeavor. Thank you, Tom Labrecque, for what you said. Thank you, as always, Secretary Bentsen, for your remarks and your stellar leadership. I thank all the Members of Congress for coming and the Members of the House who are out voting; you were all introduced by name in absentia. [Laughter] But I do want to say a special word of thanks to retiring Congressman Steve Neal for his wonderful leadership bill, and I thank him. I thank the Senators, those who are here especially, Senator Dodd, Senator Sarbanes, Senator Bennett, and of course, Senator Riegle. We will miss you, and we thank you for this very important part of your legacy. I thank Chairman Greenspan and Mr. Blinder and Chairman Levitt for coming and for their role in stabilizing and strengthening our economy. I never comment on these things, but I'm awfully glad this bill is taking effect at a time when banks will still be able to make loans at reasonable interest rates. [Laughter] There are a lot of other people here—I'll live to regret—[laughter]—a lot of other people here that could be introduced, but I think I would be remiss if I did not say something about someone who fought for this issue when he was in Congress and is now the distinguished Governor of the State of Connecticut, Lowell Weicker. We're delighted to see you here, sir. Thank you for coming. We're delighted to see Sarge and Eunice Shriver here; thank you for coming.

Now, there are two other people I would be personally remiss if I did not introduce because they had a lot to do with my interest in this issue. The thing that sparked my interest in this issue, first of all, was being Governor of a State when banks were dropping like flies all around the country and we were

determined to protect ours. And I began then to seriously think what was structurally wrong with the financial system in this country. There is a gentleman here from my home State who has been my banker, my adviser, my supporter, and was the last person who served as my chief of staff as Governor of Arkansas. I'd like to ask him to stand up, Mr. Bill Bowen, former chairman of the Commercial National Bank. [Applause] And the other person here who stayed up with me half the night once. You may think you can't stay up half a night talking about interstate banking. [Laughter] You may think it would put you to sleep even though—but you have never heard Hugh McColl talk about it. Will you please stand up? Thank you so much. [Applause] I figured if he could be rhapsodic about this at 2 a.m., I ought to be for it, strong for it. [Laughter]

You've already heard how important this legislation is and what it will do for the banking industry. I'd like to just take a few moments to describe to you from my point of view as President how this fits into our comprehensive economic strategy. You've already heard people say it will make us stronger economically; it will be better for consumers; it will make us more efficient. It represents another example of our intent to reinvent Government by making it less regulatory and less overreaching and by shrinking it where it ought to be shrunk and reshaping it where it ought to be reshaped.

The people who are here up on this stage with me represent the economic team who worked with me to try to develop a strategy that would put the American people first and enable us to compete and win in the 21st century and enable us to stay together and go forward in spite of all of our differences, to restore prosperity and to renew the American dream.

The economic strategy we have crafted, while it may have critics in every corner from point to point, still should be recognized for what it is: a serious attempt by the national administration to systematically address the problems of the American economy and the opportunities of the American economy that enable us to increase our capacity to work together for opportunity for all.

Secretary Bentsen has been my wise counsel and strong leader. Secretary Brown is with President Yeltsin in Seattle today, probably still trying to make another sale. [Laughter] As all of you know, he's traveled from South America to South Africa to promote American businesses and exports and has been the most active Commerce Secretary certainly in my lifetime. Secretary Reich has been tireless in his advocacy for a skilled work force and for changing our whole unemployment system into a reemployment system. Alice Rivlin and before her Leon Panetta have played a central role in shaping tough and responsible budgets and in giving us 3 years of declining deficits for the first time since Mr. Truman was the President of the United States. Ambassador Kantor has given us more leadership on trade in the last 20 months than in any comparable period in the last 35 years. Erskine Bowles is not here, but the Acting Administrator of SBA is here, Sandra Pulley. And let me say, among other things, they have proved that if you put people in charge of the Small Business Administration whose job it is or has been in the past to create and expand small businesses, it makes a remarkable difference. The agency is less political but more effective than it has ever been. One of the things they did was to take the small business loan form, which was that thick, and cut it to one page and give you a decision in 3 days, yes or no, which is something that interstate banking will probably make possible for every bank in America to do, before you know it. I want to thank Laura Tyson, the Chair of our Council of Economic Advisers, who has done so much to help us analyze the economy and strategize long-term. But most important of all, I want to thank the most self-effacing but talented person I've ever had the privilege to work with in the area of the economy, Bob Rubin, for coordinating this entire team. And I'd like for him to stand up, because he never gets any recognition. [Applause]

Our strategy was pretty simple: Get our fiscal house in order; bring the deficit down; do it and find a way to invest more in the skills of our people, the technologies of the future, defense conversion; expand trade; open markets; be more aggressive in appropriate ways in having a partnership outside

our borders between the United States Government and our economic interests; and work to find ways to make the Government more efficient.

We have committed ourselves to that. And among other things, the budget we are about to adopt—we're in the process of adopting now—combined with the budget last year, represent only the first time in 17 years when a President's had two budgets in a row adopted by Congress substantially intact. They will give us 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since the Truman Presidency. But also somewhat less known, they will over this 6-year period, because we adopt 5-year budgets, reduce the size of the Federal Government by 270,000 to its smallest size since Mr. Kennedy was President. All of that money is being given to the American people in their own communities to fight crime. That's how the crime bill was funded. This is a remarkable change. We have already reduced the size of the Federal Government in 20 months by more than 70,000 people. And so I thank all of them for that.

The result of these comprehensive efforts and our disciplined coordination with other aspects of the public and private sector is that our economy is healthy and growing, inflation is moderate, trade is expanding, the deficit is dropping, and the Government is shrinking. There have been 4.3 million new jobs. And in contrast to the pattern of the eighties, when much of the job growth in times that were slow was in State and local government, 93 percent of the new jobs for the last 20 months have been in the private sector.

According to a recent annual survey by international economists, America has now been ranked the most productive economy in the world for the first time in 9 years. We've also had 8 months in a row of manufacturing job growth, something others had all but given up on for the first time in 10 years.

Our challenge now is to keep moving in the right direction, to keep creating new partnerships between business, Government, and citizens. And this legislation is a good step in that direction.

Under this law, as you've already heard, banks will be able to operate in more States

with less trouble. We wipe away obsolete Government-created restrictions, something I'm determined to do in many other areas. And you'd be amazed how many areas these exist in.

Just for example, in the last year and a half, we have given 17 States permission to try new ways to move people from welfare to work. In every case, we had to wipe away Federal restrictions to allow States to do things that nearly 100 percent of the American people without regard to race or income want done to find a way to put people in the work force and take them off the dole. So we are working hard. We know we can save billions of dollars if we do that. Some estimates suggest the efficiencies in this bill alone in reducing paperwork and regulation will save this industry about \$1 billion a year.

We know this bill is good for consumers for reasons that have already been stated. I wish I had thought of Tom's line myself: It's easier for a New York bank to expand in Kuala Lumpur than Jersey City. So, since he's already said that, I won't give you what they wrote for me, which is longer and not nearly as graphic. *[Laughter]*

I also want to thank the Congress for working on this bill in a bipartisan spirit. You know, I get very frustrated, as all of you know, that it takes so long to do big things around here. I went back and read "The Federalist Papers" the other night, I was so frustrated by it. And then, lo and behold, some of our brilliant framers organized this Government to slow things down. Even they couldn't be right about everything, but anyway, we took our time on this bill.

And there are so many things that we've been able to do in the last year and a half that were just sort of hanging around for 6, 7, or 8 years. But when the bill did pass, when we had the confluence of forces and energy and vision to pass it, it passed with overwhelming bipartisan support, which should increase the confidence of the American people that this is a good thing for our country and that it will help all of us to do better.

Let us all acknowledge that this work is far from over. You've already heard the previous speaker say there was more to be done in the banking area, even though we have

had a very good year and a half with trade. And NAFTA, by the way, is having a very positive effect on our economy. We've had a 19 percent increase in exports to Mexico, a 600 percent increase in the exports of automobiles and trucks to Mexico since NAFTA passed. Jobs are up to both Canada and Mexico because exports are up. Still, the really important thing to do is to pass the GATT.

I am going in November to Indonesia to meet with the leaders of the big Asian economies. I will then go back to Florida in December to have all the leaders of the democratic governments in the Caribbean and Latin America there at the Summit of the Americas that Mr. McLarty, who is here, is coordinating for us. We need to be able to continue to be the leader in opening up the global economy to efficiency and to competition and to expansion.

This is not a zero-sum game, this economy. But the only way it cannot be that is to keep pushing back the limits of the possible. And the only way you can do that is to have global economic growth. So we will keep hoping and working for GATT. I think we need to create it and pass it as quickly as we can. The American people will be a winner there.

All of you know that every serious economic study of the GATT has estimated that it will create hundreds of thousands of high-paying American jobs over the next decade and ultimately add between \$100 billion and \$200 billion to our GDP every single year. It will cut foreign tariffs by a third. It will provide a global tax cut of \$744 billion. So I hope that the bipartisan support the GATT has will result in the same thing that happened with the banking bill, that we will pass it and pass it in a prompt way.

Yesterday the House Ways and Means Committee approved the GATT by a vote of 35 to 3. This morning the Senate Finance Committee approved it by a vote of 19 to 0. The fact is, these folks have figured out that this is good for our economy, good for our country, good for our global leadership to continue to be pointing the way for other countries, to keep them looking upward and outward and reaching out to each other instead of drawing inward and giving in to the difficult pressures that all of us face.

I want Congress to pass the GATT this year. If it passes the House but not the Senate, I'll urge the Senate to return after the election recess and pass it then. We have come too far on this journey, making our Government more efficient, our economy more productive, and working together, to back off now.

You know, this week I've had the honor to represent you at the U.N. and to meet with President Yeltsin here in Washington and to watch as our courageous soldiers are working to bring democracy back to Haiti in a peaceful fashion. I am reminded that the world, with all of its difficulties, has never really had greater opportunities and that our very existence now is not threatened, as it once was, because of the progress we have made in trying to learn to live together.

People everywhere who yearn for political freedom and for economic opportunity are having more chances to realize both than ever before. We have a chance to help them. Sometimes we are called upon to help them in definite and specific ways, as we were early in the process of Russian reform or as we have been in Haiti. But I always believe that the most powerful way we help is by setting the right example.

We have set a good example today. Passing the GATT is setting a good example. Reaching out to the rest of the world, being unafraid to compete and determined to contact people and to work with them and to keep doing what we do better is the best way to set that kind of example. To me, that's what this bill represents, and I'm honored to be here to sign it today.

Thank you very much.

We don't have enough room on the dais for every Member of Congress who's here, but I would like to ask at least Mr. Neal to come up here. He and Senator Riegle should be in this picture. It may get them so many write-in votes, they won't be able to retire.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. at the U.S. Treasury Building. In his remarks, he referred to Richard Kovacevich, president and chief executive officer, Norwest Corp. of Minneapolis; Tom Labrecque, chairman and chief executive officer, Chase Manhattan Bank; Alan S. Blinder, member, Council of Economic Advisers; Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., first director of the Peace

Corps; Eunice Shriver, director, Special Olympics; and Hugh McColl, Jr., chairman of the board, NationsBank Corp. H.R. 3841, approved September 29, was assigned Public Law No. 103-328. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Joint Statement on Strategic Stability and Nuclear Security

September 29, 1994

Joint statement on strategic stability and nuclear security by the Presidents of the United States of America and the Russian Federation

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin underscored that, with the end of the Cold War, major progress has been achieved with regard to strengthening global strategic stability and nuclear security. Both the United States and Russia are significantly reducing their nuclear forces. Important steps have been taken to detarget strategic missiles. Multilateral negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban have begun. The Presidents noted the key role of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in ensuring global stability.

President Yeltsin outlined the initiative Russia presented to the UN General Assembly for a treaty among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council for a halt to the production of fissile materials for weapons, a ban on the reuse of fissile materials in weapons, further elimination of nuclear warheads, and reduction of strategic delivery systems.

President Clinton outlined the ideas he described at the UN General Assembly for cooperation in advancing nuclear non-proliferation, particularly to enhance the security of nuclear materials and to prevent nuclear smuggling.

The Presidents discussed these initiatives, of which they had informed each other in advance and which reflected shared goals and certain common proposals designed to contribute to nuclear non-proliferation. In this regard, the Presidents agreed that the permanent members of the UN Security Council, given their responsibilities as nuclear powers, have a special role to play.

The United States and Russia will work with the other permanent members, as well

as other countries, to ensure a successful outcome at the 1995 Non-Proliferation Treaty conference that produces an indefinite and unconditional extension of the NPT, to conclude a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty at the earliest possible date, and to achieve a global prohibition on the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. The Presidents also agreed on the desirability of continuing their respective moratoria on nuclear weapon tests.

The Presidents welcomed the ongoing deactivation and dismantlement of strategic nuclear systems by the parties to the START I Treaty and the implementation of the January 14, 1994 Trilateral Statement. They welcomed the real possibility to bring the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol into force in the very near future and pledged full cooperation to this end. The Presidents agreed that their defense ministers would exchange information every three months on strategic systems that have been deactivated and eliminated.

The Presidents confirmed their intention to seek early ratification of the START II Treaty, once the START I Treaty enters into force, and expressed their desire to exchange START II instruments of ratification at the next U.S.-Russia summit meeting.

In an important new development, the Presidents concurred that, once the START II Treaty is ratified, the United States and Russia would proceed to deactivate all strategic delivery systems to be reduced under START II by removing their nuclear warheads or taking other steps to remove them from alert status.

The Presidents instructed their experts to intensify their dialogue to compare conceptual approaches and to develop concrete steps to adapt the nuclear forces and practices on both sides to the changed international security situation and to the current spirit of U.S.-Russian partnership, including the possibility, after ratification of START II, of further reductions of, and limitations on, remaining nuclear forces. They also discussed the prospect for confidence-building and transparency measures in this area. The Presidents consider that, as the political partnership develops, there will be new opportu-

nities to strengthen stability through openness and transparency.

President Clinton described to President Yeltsin the unilateral adjustments the United States will make in its strategic and non-strategic nuclear forces and safety, security and use control practices as a result of the recently completed nuclear posture review. President Yeltsin noted these U.S. changes as a manifestation of the new relationship between the United States and Russia and described the comparable review of measures underway in Russia to reduce Russian nuclear forces and improve their safety. The Presidents agreed that each side would independently consider further unilateral steps, as appropriate, with regard to their respective nuclear forces.

The Presidents discussed the benefits of reduction and enhancements to the security of non-strategic nuclear forces.

The Presidents agreed on the fundamental importance of preserving the viability and integrity of the ABM Treaty. Noting the recent progress made on the issue of ABM/TMD demarcation and multilateralization of the ABM Treaty, the Presidents instructed their respective delegations, working with the other participating states, to complete agreement on remaining issues in the shortest possible time.

Both sides have an interest in developing and fielding effective theater missile defense systems on a cooperative basis. The Presidents agreed that the two sides will conduct a joint exercise of theater missile defenses and early warning of missile launches. This exercise would contribute to providing a basis for U.S. and Russian forces to operate together, for example, in peacekeeping operations.

Proceeding from the principles of partnership and reciprocity, the Presidents agreed to work together to develop broad bilateral and multilateral cooperation on assuring nuclear security as follows:

Cooperate on a bilateral and multilateral basis, including through the exchange of appropriate information, to prevent illegal trade in nuclear materials and undertake measures to strengthen the regime of control and physical protection of such materials.

Exchange detailed information at the next meeting of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission on aggregate stockpiles of nuclear warheads, on stocks of fissile materials and on their safety and security. The sides will develop a process for exchanging this information on a regular basis.

Direct their joint working group on nuclear safeguards, transparency and irreversibility to pursue by March 1995 further measures to improve confidence in and increase the transparency and irreversibility of the process of reducing nuclear weapons.

Facilitate broad cooperation among appropriate agencies in both countries to ensure effective control, accounting and physical protection of nuclear materials.

Facilitate cooperative programs between U.S. and Russian national laboratories in the areas of safety, physical protection, control and accounting of nuclear materials.

Deepen cooperation between the U.S. Department of Defense and the Russian Ministry of Defense in the area of ensuring nuclear security.

Implement a joint plan to expedite construction of a new, long-term storage facility for fissile materials from dismantled nuclear weapons at Mayak.

Taking a broad view of strategic stability and bearing in mind the need to control all types of weapons of mass destruction, the Presidents agreed on:

The importance of continued, full, mutual and reciprocal implementation of the September 1992 U.S.-Russian-UK statement on Biological Weapons as a means of gaining confidence that offensive biological weapons programs have been terminated.

The need for adherence by all states to the Chemical Weapons Convention and for universal application of its provisions, as well as the need for adoption without delay of measures that make it possible to bring the CWC into force; and the need to resolve without delay the outstanding issues related to the Bilateral Destruction Agreement and the

Wyoming Memorandum of Understanding.

NOTE: This joint statement also included a report of September presummit meetings on U.S.-Russian security issues.

Statement on the 1996 Democratic National Convention

September 29, 1994

I am pleased with Chairman Wilhelm's decision to name Debra DeLee to head the 1996 Democratic National Convention. I am confident her energy and enthusiasm as well as her political expertise will make the 1996 convention an exciting and rewarding experience for those inside the convention hall, throughout Chicago, and across America.

Statement on Lobby and Campaign Finance Reform Legislation

September 29, 1994

The American people have made it clear that they want a change in the way Washington works. From the beginning of my administration, I have called upon Congress to enact tough political reform legislation. Today Congress made real progress in the effort to return Government to the people. It is now time for Congress to finish the job and enact lobby reform and campaign finance reform, so that narrow interests are never able to obstruct the national interest.

The House of Representatives took a major step toward changing the culture of the Capital when it voted for lobby reform. This legislation will, for the first time, require lobbyists to fully disclose their activities, their clients, and the sources of their funding. And it will bar lobbyists from providing gifts, meals, and entertainment to lawmakers. I call on the Senate to quickly pass lobby reform and send it to my desk. We must take the political system away from the lobbyists and the narrow interests in Washington and give it back to the American people.

I am also heartened by the agreement between House and Senate leaders on campaign finance reform legislation. This bill will limit congressional spending, curb the PAC's

and lobbyists, open the airwaves to debate, and ban the use of soft money in Federal elections. Make no mistake: this is real reform. Tomorrow the Senate will vote to end a filibuster and appoint conferees on this bill. I call on Senators from both parties to put aside partisanship and move forward with this legislation. There is simply no excuse for delay.

**Executive Order No. 12929—
Delegation of Authority Regarding
the Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale
Reserves**

September 29, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 301 of title 3 and sections 7427 and 7428 of title 10, United States Code, and in order to meet the goals and requirements of the Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale Reserves, it is hereby ordered as follows:

The functions vested in the President by sections 7427 and 7428 of title 10 of the United States Code are delegated to the Secretary of Energy.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 29, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:46 a.m., September 30, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on October 3.

**Remarks at a Reception for Senator
Edward M. Kennedy in McLean,
Virginia**

September 29, 1994

Thank you so much. Senator and Mrs. Kennedy, the Kennedy family, Senator Mitchell and Members of the Senate, Congressmen, Congressman-to-be Patrick Kennedy, and Marvin Rosen, and all those who made this night possible, I thank you so much for your help for our friend. Chevy Chase, thank you for making us laugh.

I'll tell you a story about Chevy Chase. I never told this story in public before. Don't get that excited, it's not that good. [Laughter] I had never met Chevy Chase in my entire life, except on a movie screen. And in 1988 or '89, I went up to Long Island in the summertime. Hillary and I were up there visiting our friend Liz Robins, who's here tonight. And every summertime there's a softball game to raise money between the artists and the writers. And they asked me if I would be an umpire in this game. And once I realized there were some members of the press there and I'd be able to give them grades instead of the other way around, I eagerly accepted. Now, at that time—a lot of you won't remember this; I hope, at least, you won't remember it, and I hope you'll forget after I tell you tonight. [Laughter] I had given a speech for Governor Dukakis at the Democratic Convention, which I intend to complete here this evening. [Laughter] Anyway—I can't believe I said that. [Laughter] The announcer for the ball game was Jim Brady, the guy that does that Brady's Bits in "Parade Magazine" every Sunday, you know? He's a delightful man, but when he saw me out there on the mound about ready to call balls and strikes, he said—he introduced me—he said, "This is Governor Clinton from Arkansas. He's up here visiting, and if he takes as long to make the calls today as he did to speak in Atlanta, we'll never get out of here." [Laughter] I really appreciated that. [Laughter] Anyway, so the game starts, and the next time the sides change, I look up in the stands, and this tall guy stands up and walks down, comes out to the pitcher's mound, shakes my hand, and says, "I'm Chevy Chase." And he said, "I may be the only person in America besides your mother who feels this way, but I liked that speech. Tell him to go to hell." [Laughter] That's verbatim what he said. [Applause] You just applauded for the next ambassador to Great Britain. [Laughter]

Ladies and gentlemen, you know we all do a lot of these events, and a lot of you are the backbone of our party. And sometimes we do them with great energy; sometimes we do them with interest; sometimes we do them because we know it's the right thing to do and we do them. I am here to-

night because there is no place else in America I would rather be tonight than here in this cause for this good man.

You know, before I got here I really didn't understand how things so often came across in the country so different than they are up here. I was another alienated American, even though I was the Governor of my State. And I was terribly worried that this country was going in the wrong direction, people that were running our country were just telling the voters what they wanted to hear and avoiding all the tough problems. We had had profound social problems building up for 30 years. We'd had serious economic problems building up for 20 years. And we had finally come to the end of the cold war, a time when we had an opportunity to take a fresh look at both the opportunities and the difficulties of this country at this time and that we had a window here in which we could either secure the American dream for our children and our grandchildren and the strength of this country as we move into the 21st century, or we could walk away from the responsibilities of our generation.

When I talked to Hillary about running for President, I—in a very personal way, I didn't want to do it. First of all, most of my friends thought it was a fool's errand because the incumbent President was at over 70 percent approval. Secondly, things were going pretty well for us at home, with our family, our friends, and our work. But I did it because I thought that we all have an obligation to try to make a difference and that we had to change the direction of the country.

Tonight we come here to honor someone who has always fought to keep us going forward in the right direction, who has always fought for hope over fear, for reconciliation over division, to bring out the best in us instead of to bring out the worst in us. Well, when I came here I knew it wouldn't be easy, but I was determined to see that we work together to move this country forward, to address our problems, to get things done for ordinary Americans.

Well, it hasn't been easy. There have been some tough times and some really brutal fights. But you know, we've made a good start. And now, as always happens in these midterm elections, with the issue hanging

fire, the American people will have to decide whether we will continue this rigorous transition into tomorrow.

Every time we reach a point in history where we're going through big changes and the future is not clear, we fight a battle within ourselves. In that sense, our Nation is very much like a person. If you think about your own life, whenever you did anything really different and took on a new challenge, it was always with a mixture of hope and fear, when you went to school the first day or first went off to college or had your first job, or first sought elective office or married or had your first child. No matter how good a thing is, if it is really big, it is also a little scary. Countries are the same way. A delicate balance always has to be maintained between hope and fear. And every day we all get up and we see things that are happening that we don't like or we're unsure what will happen to us. And it's almost as if we have a scale inside us, with blind justice holding it, and hope is one side and fear is on the other. And each day it may take a little different balance.

The job we have between now and election day is to make sure that when people wake up on election day, they vote their hopes instead of their fears, they vote for tomorrow instead of yesterday, they vote to keep going forward, and they vote for Senator Ted Kennedy for reelection in Massachusetts.

We still have a lot to do, but we've made a good start. And we've done some very important things by putting our economic house in order, giving the American people their first serious attack on crime in a long time, and beginning to make this Government work for ordinary citizens.

If you look at the last 20 months, this Congress—I might add without one single, solitary vote from a Member of the other party—the Democrats, who were so often attacked as being for big Government and spending, voted for a budget that cut \$255 billion in Federal spending, that reduced the deficit by more than any plan ever adopted in the history of the country, that gave us 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President. I might add, they did it by raising tax rates on only the top 1.2 percent of Americans, including

most of you in this room tonight. And we thank you for staying with us. [*Laughter*]

This administration—and it's a great rebuke to those who think people only vote their own short-term self interests, all of you are. And I honor you for your presence here tonight and for caring about your country and the long-term health and discipline and economic direction of what we're trying to do.

Our administration expanded trade by more than any in the comparable time period in the last 30 years. Exports are up, sales are up, and jobs are up in export-related areas. And what has all this produced: 4.3 million new jobs, 93 percent of them in the private sector, unlike the ratio in previous years when it's been mostly Government jobs created to try to help people deal with the problems of economic fallout. We've had 8 months of manufacturing job growth in a row for the first time in a decade. And just last week, at the annual vote of International Economists, for the first time in 9 years, it was the United States of America that was voted as having the most productive economy in the world. We've got a long way to go, but we've made a good beginning.

Senator Biden is here. And Senator Kennedy for years has been interested in this whole crime issue from his service on the Judiciary Committee. But Joe Biden will tell you they talked about crime around here for 6 years, but we finally passed the crime bill that is tough with punishment, tough in terms of putting 100,000 police on the street but also smart in providing prevention and giving people a chance to turn away from lives of crime and giving our young people a chance to have something to say yes to. Also, for the first time in my memory we put together back-to-back victories with the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban, in spite of the ferocious opposition of the NRA. That's a pretty good beginning. We've got a long way to go, but it's a pretty good beginning.

If you look at what was done to make Government work for ordinary people, in the economic plan, we reformed the college loan program—the Secretary of Education is here tonight—making 20 million Americans, including over 840,000 in the State of Massachusetts, eligible for low-interest loans at

longer repayment terms, a stunning benefit for middle class kids, not just poor kids, so that no one need ever walk away from the challenge of paying for a college education again—You can clap for that; Ted Kennedy was for it. [*Applause*—two hundred thousand more children in Head Start; hundreds of thousands of people in Massachusetts alone affected by the family leave law which says that if you've got a sick parent or you're about to have a child, you can take a little time off without losing your job. We are going to have 2 million more children immunized by 1996, so that all the kids under 2 will be immunized and parents can go to work not worrying about whether their children are going to be safe from preventable childhood diseases. Fifteen million working people and their children are going to get income tax cuts because they work hard and they raise their kids, but they're hovering just above the poverty line. And we do not want them to fall into the poverty line and quit working and go on welfare. This is a prowork, profamily administration making this Government work for ordinary citizens again. And it's a good start.

Finally, let me say to our friends in the other party, I sat out there in the heartland of America as the Governor for years and years and years, and I heard them talk about how terrible the Federal Government was and how big and bloated it was. But we, the Democrats, voted to reduce the size of the Federal Government by 272,000, to make it the smallest it's been since President Kennedy was in office. We have already done over 70,000 of those reductions. And every last red cent of reduction in the Federal Government is going to local government and to local communities to help them fight crime. That is the record of the Democrats in the last 2 years.

Now, if you compare that to what our opponents have done and what they have said, it's a pretty big difference. In the name of partisanship, they tried to stop the crime bill. They voted entirely against the economic program, a program that gave college loan breaks to millions of kids, a program that made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for tax cuts and gave tax reductions to 15 million working families.

They have done everything they could to keep us from addressing the health care reform issue in a serious way. You needn't take my word for it, only listen to them: Congressman Fred Grandy from Iowa saying that they had all been ordered not to cooperate and compromise on health care; a Republican Senator quoted in one of our big newspapers the other day saying, "We killed health care, now if we can just not get our fingerprints on it."; their political adviser, Mr. Kristol, telling them the one thing they must not do is to cooperate to bring down health care costs, make health insurance secure for those who have it, and cover those who don't because that would be a political benefit for the other party. That is their record.

Now we know what they wish to do if they get the majority. They put out their contract with America, and you know what they did—it looks like a contract, it looks like they took out a contract against the deficit, a contract against Medicare, a contract against paying for the crime bill, a contract against all the gains we have made for ordinary Americans in the last 2 years. They want to go back to the way they did it before, explode the deficit, tell people what they want to hear, and stick it to ordinary Americans. We can do better than that. We have to go forward. We have to reelect the people and elect the people who want to keep going forward.

If you just look at the things that Senator Kennedy has been involved in just since I have been President: the Head Start program, 200,000 more children; reforming the education loans; working on changing the whole unemployment system to a reemployment system, something we haven't finished yet; the Goals 2000 bill, which for the first time in the history of America commits us as a nation to world-class standards of educational excellence and commits the Federal Government not to have a bureaucracy but to give help to local grassroots efforts at reform; the national service program, which this year has 20,000 young Americans and 2 years from now will have 100,000 young Americans earning their way to a higher education by serving their communities at the grassroots level, not in a bureaucracy but in people power that can truly change the course of our country's future, he led the way

in all of those endeavors. And he deserves a lot of credit for it.

But elections are about the future. If we do a good job, it's just what we were hired to do. So why should he be reelected? Because if you ever want this country to be able to bring the deficit down without breaking the backs of our senior citizens; if you ever want to see a time when working people will be secure in their insurance, instead of the situation which exists today—this is the only advanced country in the world where working families are losing ground in insurance coverage. There are 5 million Americans in working families today who had health insurance 5 years ago who do not have it today, even though we spend 40 percent more of our income than any other country on health care.

If you want to preserve the integrity of our great medical institutions of higher learning, if you want to see health insurance for all Americans and stability in our economy long-term and in our Federal budget long-term, we have got to address the health care issue. So what if we couldn't do it in a year. Look what's happened since I've been here. It took 7 years to pass the Brady bill, 7 years to pass family leave, 7 years to pass motor voter, 6 years to pass the crime bill. I signed a banking reform bill today that they've been working on longer than anybody can remember. We can do this. We will do this. The people of Massachusetts, I don't believe, want to send a signal to Washington, DC, that they have abandoned health care. I think they want to tell us to keep at it until we get it right. And the only way to do that is to say, "Senator Kennedy, stay on the job; keep doing it until we get it right."

My friends, you will see this election everywhere in America played out. Look at Patrick Kennedy's race in Rhode Island. He's running against someone who signed the contract, a contract against health care reform, for cutting Medicare, for exploding the deficit, for putting the Federal budget in a place where they won't even be able to fund the crime bill, the same old promises, tell them what they want to hear, bad-mouth Government, bad-mouth the people who are the instruments of change, and hope you

don't get caught. I think the American people are smarter than that.

You know, Ted Kennedy said tonight that he was not the youngest man in the Senate race. He was once the youngest man in the Senate for quite a long time. Well, I was once the youngest Governor in America by 9 years. Time has a way of curing those problems—[laughter]—and of changing your perspective. But I would like to say something about Senator Kennedy and about the United States. He's made enemies in his life because he has fought for things. But the things he has fought for are things that would help people who are very different from him. Ninety-five percent of the people that would have been given the things that he was given in life never would have spent their life trying to get all that for everybody else in the country. Most of us, given the opportunities he had, would have enjoyed them in a very different way. They wouldn't have put themselves on the line day in and day out, year in and year out.

This country is also very old as a democracy, but it is forever young. When people say they worry about whether we've still got it as a country, I say to them, why do you think the Israelis and the Arabs want to come here and have us work with them to end the decades of horrible fighting in the Middle East? Why do you think that after literally hundreds of years of fighting, the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland, and the British and the Irish wish the Americans to be involved in the peace process? Why did Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk want the United States to spend a few million dollars of our tax money to help them develop an election that would really work? Even in the 11th hour of our crisis in Haiti a little over a week ago, when the delegation was down there meeting with the military leaders and they realized finally that we meant business, one of them said, "Well, if the President is determined to do this and the United Nations is determined to act, at least we want the United States; we trust them, we know they can be trusted. We know what they represent." Why? Because the right things, my fellow Americans, never get old.

And I was sitting here looking at Ted Kennedy give that speech tonight, and I saw it

literally moving his entire being. And I said to myself, let the people who disagree with him disagree. Let the people who say he's wrong on the issues say that. But let no one doubt that he may be the youngest person running for the Senate in any State this year, because he believes in things that are forever young.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. at the Kennedy Residence. In his remarks, he referred to host Marvin Rosen and comedian Chevy Chase. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Executive Order 12930—Measures To Restrict the Participation by United States Persons in Weapons Proliferation Activities

September 29, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 203 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code,

I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, find that the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, and of the means of delivering such weapons, constitutes an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat.

Accordingly, in order to limit the participation by United States persons in weapons proliferation activities, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized and directed to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules, regulations, and amendments thereto, as may be necessary to continue to regulate the activities of United States persons in order to prevent their participation in activities that could contribute to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the

means of their delivery, as provided in the Export Administration Regulations, set forth at 15 CFR Parts 768–799 (1994).

Sec. 2. Any rules, regulations, orders, licenses, or other forms of administrative action issued, taken, or continued in effect heretofore or hereafter under the authority of the Export Administration Act, or the authorities provided under Executive Order No. 12868 on September 30, 1993, are hereby continued in effect unless altered, modified, or rescinded by the Secretary of Commerce pursuant to section 1 of this order.

Sec. 3. Executive Order No. 12868 is revoked and this order shall take effect at 11:59 p.m. on September 29, 1994.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 29, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:20 p.m., September 30, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 30, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on October 3.

Message to the Congress Reporting on Proliferation of Chemical and Biological Weapons

September 29, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)) and section 301 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631), I hereby report to the Congress that I have exercised my statutory authority to declare a national emergency and to issue an Executive order, which authorizes and directs the Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules, regulations, and amendments thereto, and to employ such powers granted to the President by, the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, as may be necessary to continue to regulate the activities of United States persons in order to prevent their participation in activities, which could contribute to the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and bio-

logical weapons, and the means of their delivery.

These actions are necessary in view of the danger posed to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States by the continued proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, and of the means of delivering such weapons, and in view of the need for more effective controls on activities sustaining such proliferation. In the absence of these actions, the participation of United States persons in activities contrary to U.S. nonproliferation objectives and policies, and which may not be adequately controlled, could take place without effective control, posing an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.

The countries and regions affected by this action would include those currently identified in Supplements to Part 778 of Title 15 of the Code of Federal Regulations, concerning nonproliferation controls, as well as such other countries as may be of concern from time to time due to their involvement in the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, or due to the risk of their being points of diversion to proliferation activities.

It is my intention to review the appropriateness of proposing legislation to provide standing authority for these controls, and thereafter to terminate the Executive order.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 29, 1994.

Proclamation 6730—Suspension of Entry as Immigrants and Nonimmigrants of Persons Who Formulate or Implement Policies That Are Impeding the Transition to Democracy in Liberia or Who Benefit From Such Policies

September 30, 1994

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

In light of the long-standing political and humanitarian crisis in Liberia, I have deter-

mined that it is in the interests of the United States to restrict the entrance into the United States as immigrants and nonimmigrants of certain Liberian nationals who formulate or implement policies that impede Liberia's transition to democracy or who benefit from such policies, and the immediate families of such persons.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, by the power vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 212(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended (8 U.S.C. 1182(f)), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, hereby find that the unrestricted immigrant and nonimmigrant entry into the United States of persons described in section 1 of this proclamation would, except as provided for in section 2 or 3 of this proclamation, be detrimental to the interests of the United States. I hereby proclaim that:

Section 1. The entry into the United States as immigrants and nonimmigrants of persons who formulate or implement policies that impede Liberia's transition to democracy or who benefit from such policies, and the immediate family members of such persons, is hereby suspended.

Sec. 2. Section 1 shall not apply with respect to any person otherwise covered by section 1 where entry of such person would not be contrary to the interests of the United States.

Sec. 3. Persons covered by sections 1 and 2 shall be identified pursuant to procedures established by the Secretary of State, as authorized in section 5 below.

Sec. 4. Nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to derogate from United States Government obligations under applicable international agreements.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of State shall have responsibility to implement this proclamation pursuant to procedures the Secretary may establish.

Sec. 6. This proclamation is effective immediately and shall remain in effect until such time as the Secretary of State determines that it is no longer necessary and should be terminated.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of September, in

the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:01 p.m., October 3, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on October 5.

Proclamation 6728—National Disability Employment Awareness Month, 1994

September 30, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Like every civil rights law in our Nation's history, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) is about potential. We see that potential reflected every day in the faces of America—from the AmeriCorps volunteers of Gallaudet University to the athletes taking part in this year's trials for the Special Olympics World Games. In myriad ways, our citizens continually prove the proposition on which our Nation was founded: that empowered by the freedom to dream, to work, and to succeed, every one of us can accomplish great things.

As we commemorate National Disability Employment Awareness Month, 1994, employers across the country are recognizing that in the hiring of people with disabilities, basic fairness and economic good sense are one and the same. Prohibiting discrimination in employment, public accommodation, government services, transportation, and communications, the ADA holds up a model and an important challenge to businesses at home and around the world. In this country, the 49 million Americans with disabilities represent one of our largest untapped resources—a resource upon which we must rely if we are to succeed in an increasingly competitive international marketplace. Their knowledge and skill, their energy and creativity are essential in building a work force that will carry our economy into the next century.

This year, we celebrate as the ADA provisions for fair employment practices go into effect for small businesses throughout the land. These provisions are designed to open a vast new world of opportunity to American workers and employers, and our Nation stands committed to fully implement and to aggressively enforce the ADA in our schools and workplaces, in government and in public facilities. With this measure, our citizens will enjoy more avenues to freedom than ever. Indeed, it is past time to free all of our people to dream, to work, to succeed, and finally to fulfill the vast potential that is America.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved August 11, 1945, as amended (36 U.S.C. 155), has called for the designation of October of each year as "National Disability Employment Awareness Month." This month is a time for all Americans to recognize the tremendous potential of citizens with disabilities and to renew our commitment to full inclusion and equal opportunity for all.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 1994 as National Disability Employment Awareness Month. I call upon all Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities that affirm our determination to fulfill both the letter and the spirit of the Americans with Disabilities Act and related laws.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:27 p.m., October 3, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on October 5.

Notice on the Continuation of Emergency With Respect to Haiti *September 30, 1994*

On October 4, 1991, by Executive Order No. 12775, President Bush declared a na-

tional emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States posed by the actions and policies of the *de facto* regime in Haiti, blocking all property and interests in property of the *de facto* regime and the Government of Haiti. President Bush took additional measures to prohibit trade and other transactions with Haiti by Executive Order No. 12779 of October 28, 1991, and to the same end I issued Executive Orders No. 12853 of June 30, 1993, No. 12872 of October 18, 1993, No. 12914 of May 7, 1994, No. 12917 of May 21, 1994, No. 12920 of June 10, 1994, and No. 12922 of June 21, 1994.

Because the *de facto* regime in Haiti has not yet fulfilled its commitments under the Governors Island Agreement of July 3, 1993, by relinquishing power, and therefore continues to obstruct the restoration of democracy in Haiti, the national emergency declared on October 4, 1991, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond October 4, 1994. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to Haiti. This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:02 p.m., September 30, 1994]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on October 3.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Notice on Haiti *September 30, 1994*

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the

Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Haitian emergency is to continue in effect beyond October 4, 1994, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

Resolution of the crisis between the United States and Haiti is in sight as a result of the September 18 agreement reached in Port-au-Prince by the delegation led by former President Carter. Pursuant to that agreement I have announced that all unilateral United States sanctions against Haiti will be suspended with the exception of the blocking of the assets of any persons subject to the blocking provisions of Executive Orders Nos. 12775, 12779, 12853, 12872, or 12914 and Haitian citizens who are members of the immediate family of any such person as identified by the Secretary of the Treasury.

At the same time, the United Nations Security Council, with our support, has decided that the sanctions established in Resolutions 841 and 917 should remain in force, consistent with the provisions of Resolutions 917 and 940, until the military leaders in Haiti relinquish power and President Aristide returns to Haiti. That may well not occur before October 4, 1994. Therefore, I have determined that it is necessary to retain the authority to apply economic sanctions to ensure the restoration and security of the democratically elected Government of Haiti.

While the UN Security Council sanctions remain in force and in order to enable the multinational forces to carry out their mission and to promote the betterment of the Haitian people in the interval until President Aristide's return, I have directed that steps be taken in accordance with Resolutions 917 and 940 to permit supplies and services to flow to Haiti to restore health care, water and electrical services, to provide construction materials for humanitarian programs, and to allow the shipment of communications, agricultural, and educational materials. This will allow the Haitian people to begin

the process of reconciliation and rebuilding without delay.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

Memorandum on Haiti

September 30, 1994

Presidential Determination No. 94-54

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Transfer of \$4.6 Million in FY 94 Foreign Military Financing Funds to the Economic Support Fund for Haiti

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 610(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the "Act"), (22 U.S.C. section 2261), I hereby determine that it is necessary for the purposes of the Act that \$4.6 million of funds made available for section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act for fiscal year 1994 for cost of direct loans, be transferred to, and consolidated with, funds made available for chapter 4 of Part II of the Act.

I hereby authorize the use in the fiscal year 1995 of the aforesaid \$4.6 million in the funds made available above under chapter 4 of Part II of the Act to provide economic assistance to Haiti.

Your are hereby authorized and directed to report this determination immediately to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

Memorandum on China

September 30, 1994

Presidential Determination No. 94-53

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Under Section 2(b)(2)(D) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945, as amended: People's Republic of China

Pursuant to section 2(b)(2)(D) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945, as amended, I determine that it is in the national interest for the Export-Import Bank of the United States to extend a loan in the amount of approximately \$134,009,496 to the People's Republic of China in connection with the purchase of U.S. equipment and services for the expansion of the Ligang power station within Jiangsu Province.

You are authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and publish it in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

Memorandum on Guatemala

September 30, 1994

Presidential Determination No. 94-55

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Transfer of \$4.6 Million in FY 94 Foreign Military Financing Funds to the Economic Support Fund for Assistance for Guatemala as a Peace Fund

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 610(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the "Act") (22 U.S.C. section 2261), I hereby determine that it is necessary for the purposes of the Act that \$4.6 million of funds made available for section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act, be transferred to, and consolidated with, funds made available for chapter 4, Part II of the Act.

I hereby authorize the use of the aforesaid \$4.6 million in the funds made available above under chapter 4 of Part II of the Act to set aside a Guatemala Peace Fund to provide economic assistance to promote peace and stability in Guatemala.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report this determination immediately to the Congress.

This determination shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

Nomination for Members of the National Cancer Advisory Board

September 30, 1994

The President today announced his intention to appoint three new members to the National Cancer Advisory Board (NCAB).

"We welcome the new NCAB members and appreciate their willingness to serve as advisers for the National Cancer Institute and the National Cancer Program," the President said. "I look forward to continuing reports of progress against these diseases, which affect the health of so many people in our country."

The following new Presidential appointees will serve 6-year terms on the NCAB:

J. Michael Bishop;
Philip S. Schein;
Vainutis K. Vaitkevicius.

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

***September 23*¹**

The President announced his intention to nominate Virgil Speakman and Jerome F. Kever to serve as members of the Railroad Retirement Board.

¹ This release was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

September 24

In the morning, the President traveled from Chicago, IL, to Minneapolis, MN, and then traveled to Kansas City, MO. In the evening, he traveled to New York City.

September 25

In the afternoon, the President had meetings with United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Following the meetings, he hosted a reception for African heads of state who attended the General Assembly.

September 26

In the afternoon, the President met with President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia at the United Nations Building. Later that afternoon, the President returned to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel where he had meetings with President Heydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan, President Ion Iliescu of Romania, and President Carlos Salinas of Mexico.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Dennis M. Duffy as Assistant Secretary for Policy and Planning for the Department of Veterans Affairs.

The White House announced the President has invited Crown Prince El-Hassan bin Talal of Jordan and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel to a trilateral meeting at the White House on October 3.

September 28

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a dinner hosted by President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Naina Yeltsin at the new Russian Embassy.

The President announced his intention to nominate Martin Neil Baily as a member of the White House Council of Economic Advisers.

September 29

In the afternoon, the President met with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Dick Spring of Ireland.

The President announced his intention to nominate Kenneth B. Hipp to the National Mediation Board.

The President announced his intention to appoint William B. Gould IV to the Council

of the Administrative Conference of the United States.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to the World War II Memorial Advisory Board:

- Rear Adm. Ming E. Chang, USN (Ret.);
- Melissa Durbin;
- Miguel Encinias;
- Helen Fagin;
- William Ferguson, Sr.;
- Jess Hay;
- Jon Mangis;
- Bill Mauldin;
- Sarah McClendon;
- Maj. Gen. Robert Moorhead;
- Bill Murphy;
- Peter Wheeler.

September 30

In the morning, the President attended the Supreme Court investiture ceremony of Associate Justice Stephen Breyer.

The President announced his intention to nominate Steven L. Zinter, Joseph E. Stevens, Jr., and E. Gordon Gee to the Board of Trustees of the Harry S Truman Scholarship Foundation.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following six individuals to serve on the Committee for Purchase From People Who Are Blind or Severely Disabled:

- Hugh L. Brennan;
- Carol Dortch;
- Ira L. Kemp;
- Robert M. Moore;
- Steven B. Schwalb;
- Suzanne B. Seiden.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted September 26

Madeleine Korbel Albright,
of the District of Columbia, to be a Representative of the United States of America

to the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Edward William Gnehn, Jr.,
of Georgia, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

David Elias Birenbaum,
of the District of Columbia, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Karl Frederick Inderfurth,
of North Carolina, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Victor Marrero,
of New York, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Patrick J. Leahy,
of Vermont, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Frank H. Murkowski,
of Alaska, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Steven Scott Alm,
of Hawaii, to be U.S. Attorney for the District of Hawaii for a term of 4 years, vice Daniel A. Bent, resigned.

Calton Windley Bland,
of North Carolina, to be U.S. Marshal for the Eastern District of North Carolina for a term of 4 years, vice William I. Berryhill, Jr.

Michael D. Carrington,
of Indiana, to be U.S. Marshal for the Northern District of Indiana for a term of 4 years, vice J. Jerome Perkins.

Robert Bradford English,
of Missouri, to be U.S. Marshal for the Western District of Missouri for a term of 4 years, vice Larry J. Joiner.

James E. Hall,
of Tennessee, to be Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board for a term of 2 years, vice Carl W. Vogt, term expired.

John R. Murphy,
of Alaska, to be U.S. Marshal for the District of Alaska for a term of 4 years, vice John A. McKay.

Lori Esposito Murray,
of Connecticut, to be an Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, vice Michael Lorne Moodie, resigned.

J. Timothy O'Neill,
of Virginia, to be a Director of the Federal Housing Finance Board for the remainder of the term expiring February 27, 1997, vice Marilyn R. Seymann, resigned.

John Edward Rouille,
of Vermont, to be U.S. Marshal for the District of Vermont for the term of 4 years, vice Christian J. Hansen.

Herbert M. Rutherford III,
of the District of Columbia, to be U.S. Marshal for the District of Columbia for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

Submitted September 28

Richard P. Conaboy,
of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 1999, vice William H. Wilkins, Jr., term expired.

Richard P. Conaboy,
of Pennsylvania, to be Chairman of the U.S. Sentencing Commission, vice William W. Wilkins, Jr.

Deanell Reece Tacha,
of Kansas, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 1997, vice George E. MacKinnon, term expired.

Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.,
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Coordinator for Counter Terrorism.

Wayne Anthony Budd,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 1999, vice Ilene H. Nagel, resigned.

Michael Goldsmith,
of Utah, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 1997, vice Helen G. Corrothers, term expired.

Submitted September 30

James H. Atkins,
of Arkansas, to be a member of the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board for a term expiring September 25, 1996, vice Roger W. Mehle, resigned.

Jay C. Ehle,
of Ohio, to be a member of the Advisory Board of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, vice Conrad Fredin.

Steve M. Hays,
of Tennessee, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Institute of Building Sciences for a term expiring September 7, 1997, vice Dianne E. Ingels, term expired.

Charles Hummel,
of Delaware, to be a member of the National Museum Services Board for a term expiring December 6, 1994, vice Marilyn Logsdon Mennello, term expired.

Charles Hummel,
of Delaware, to be a member of the National Museum Services Board for a term expiring December 6, 1999 (reappointment).

Scott B. Lukins,
of Washington, to be a member of the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board for a term expiring October 11, 1995, vice John David Davenport, term expired.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released September 25

Transcript of remarks by Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York at the Bethel A.M.E. Church in Harlem, New York

Fact sheet on U.S. assistance to the Russian Federation

Released September 26

Transcript of a press briefing by U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright on the 49th Session of the U.N. General Assembly

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's invitation to Crown Prince El-Hassan bin Talal of Jordan and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel to meet with him at the White House on October 3

List of suspended U.S. unilateral sanctions on Haiti and a statement by President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti

Fact sheet on U.S. policy on a landmine control regime initiative

Released September 27

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the Presidential decision directive establishing a security policy board to assure more cost-effective and efficient U.S. security policies, practices, and procedures

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers and fact sheets on the U.S.-Russian commercial agreements on trade and investment

Transcript of a press briefing by U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher on the President's discussions with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

Released September 28

White House statement extending President Clinton's and Russian President Boris Yeltsin's condolences on behalf of the American and Russian people to the families of the victims of the ferry disaster in the Baltic Sea.

Joint U.S.-Russian statement in support of the Timan Pechora Project

Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in Customs Matters

Announcement on the U.S.-Russian agreement on mutual customs assistance

Fact sheet on the Joint Statement on Principles and Objectives for the Development of Trade, Economic Cooperation, and Investment

Announcement on the crime assistance package for the Russian Federation

Released September 29

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's meeting with Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs Dick Spring of Ireland

Released September 30

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved September 23¹

S. 859 / Public Law 103-326
To reduce the restrictions on lands conveyed by deed under the Act of June 8, 1926

Approved September 28

H.R. 4624 / Public Law 103-327
Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995

Approved September 29

H.R. 3841 / Public Law 103-328
Riegle-Neal Interstate Banking and Branching Efficiency Act of 1994

¹ This act was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.